The African Communist

NO 96 FIRST QUARTER 1984

SA 320.532
AFR
S.90/61

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YUSUF DADOO
1909 - 1983

INKULULEKO PUBLICATIONS

Distributors of *The African Communist*

SUBSCRIPTION PRICE

AFRICA	*£2.00 per year including postage* *£7.50 airmail per year* (Readers in Nigeria can subscribe by sending 4 Naira to New Horizon Publications, p.o. Box 2165, Mushin Lagos, or to KPS Bookshop, PMB 1023, Afikpo, Imo State.)
BRITAIN	*£3.00 per year including postage*
NORTH AMERICA	*$8.00 per year including postage* *$15.00 airmail per year*
ALL OTHER COUNTRIES	*£3.00 per year including postage* *£7.50 airmail per year*

INKULULEKO PUBLICATIONS, 38 Goodge Street, London W1P 1FD
ISSN 0001-9976
Proprietor: Moses Mabhida

Phototypesetting and artwork by Carlinpoint Ltd. (T.U.)
5 Dryden Street, London WC2

Printed by Interdruck Leipzig

THE AFRICAN COMMUNIST

Published quarterly in the interests of African solidarity, and as a forum for Marxist-Leninist thought throughout our Continent, by the South African Communist Party

No 96 First Quarter 1984

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DR YUSUF MOHAMED DADOO
SEPTEMBER 5, 1909 — SEPTEMBER 19, 1983

It is with profound sorrow that we record the death of the national chairman of the South African Communist Party, Dr Yusuf Mohamed Dadoo, on September 19, 1983, only a few days after his 74th birthday. He died in the Whittington Hospital, London, after fighting bravely for many months against the ravages of cancer.

Yusuf Dadoo and Moses Mabhida at Dadoo's 70th birthday celebration in September 1979

THE FUNERAL

Relatives, comrades and friends came from all corners of the globe to support Yusuf Dadoo's widow Winnie and children Shireen and Roshan at the funeral ceremony and to honour the memory of an outstanding political leader. Messages of condolence poured in from all quarters.

The funeral ceremony, performed at the Central Methodist Hall, Archway, London, on September 24, was a most impressive and moving occasion. Speeches were delivered to a tense crowd of more than 700 by ANC President Oliver Tambo, SACP general secretary Moses Mabhida and Joe Slovo, for many years one of his closest political collaborators. The ANC's chief representative in London, Ruth Mompati, was in the chair. The speeches were interspersed with freedom songs beautifully rendered by the ANC choir.

Afterwards the coffin was conveyed to Highgate Cemetery where Yusuf Dadoo was buried just across the pathway from his ideological mentor Karl Marx. Among the wreaths placed on the grave were those from the United Democratic Front of South Africa, the Natal Indian Congress, the Release Mandela Committee of South Africa, the SACP, ANC, the communist parties of the socialist countries, fraternal parties and liberation movements. On October 9 the Foreign Minister of Vietnam, Nguyen Co Thach, who was in London on official business, made a special visit to the cemetery to lay a wreath on Dr Dadoo's grave.

A Triumph of Will

Even in death Yusuf Dadoo was not defeated. In his speech at the funeral ceremony, **Joe Slovo** recalled the last moments of Dadoo's life:

"Earlier he had lapsed into a coma from which it seemed he would not emerge. But clearly he had not finished what he had to do. Suddenly and unexpectedly the life in Yusuf started fighting back. He opened his eyes and started moving his head, looking at each of us in turn with a growing smile on his lips.

"When he looked at me I raised my fist. His smile deepened and he began raising his own fist to each of us in turn. He then signalled with his hand that he wanted to write. He was to have attended a meeting of his Central Committee and he had, the previous day, dictated an apology and a most inspiring message of optimism to the meeting. He signed the message with a hand which was steady and flowing. (Yusuf Dadoo's farewell message is reproduced in this issue of *The African Communist* — Ed.)

"And then the words came back to him. He selected each of us in turn to say farewell and to inject us with the strength of commitment and struggle. Over and over again he said *'You must never give up'*. *'You must fight to the end'*. And like the chairman that he was, he then looked at us again and said: *'Any questions?'*

"He called his daughter Roshan. He told her that death is part of life and that if you have fought until the end you can accept death; that others who continue with the struggle will continue with your life. He spoke to his wife Winnie about their companionship and good life together. In between he raised his fist with the words *'Amandla!'* on his lips. He spoke to his brother, sisters and sisters-in-law in Gujerati. He clearly knew that he was in his last hour, and in that short rally everything we knew about Yusuf which made him into such a great figure and a warm, generous human being showed itself; his courage, his modesty, his humour, his sensitivity and, above all, his dedication to the revolutionary cause.

"Yusuf then asked everyone to leave the room except his brother and me. And he talked to us about his funeral. He said ideally he would like to be buried in South Africa. He knew the authorities would not permit it, but he had visions of his body being carried over the border as a last gesture of defiance. We must fight, even with our dead bodies, he said.

"But he explained that such a course would be practically impossible and that he did not want to impose the burden of such a task on the movement. So, what he was telling us was the expression of his dream of his last blow at racism.

"When the others came back the air was filled with laughter and relaxed communication. He seemed so much with us that I said 'Yusuf, what about a little Scotch?'. With that shy, naughty smiling face he turned to the doctor who thought it was a wonderful idea.

"Yusuf loved to hear singing and it was the regret of his life that he felt quite incapable of holding a tune. He suddenly said: *'What about a song — Amajoni'*. We tried our tuneless best but he thought it was great and moved his hand with the rhythm.

"And soon thereafter, as if he had done everything he wanted to do, he slowly relapsed into a coma and passed away a few hours later.

"Who but Yusuf could have turned this moment of irreversible defeat into a victory of pure will? Who else could have turned such a moment of immense sadness into laughter, inspiration and song? We were there to comfort him and instead he comforted us in his very last hour."

ANC President Oliver Tambo

In his speech at the funeral ceremony Oliver Tambo said:

"Some people live, each in his or her own way, to become an inextricable component of the history of humankind's collective effort at the national, regional and international level, such that to talk about their lives is to address the history of their times. If this were true of but a few people in the world, Yusuf Dadoo would be one of them.

"We are gathered here to pay homage to him, an outstanding leader of the African liberatory struggle, a comrade and friend who devoted most of his life in the service of his people; a communist of world prominence; a dedicated and convinced internationalist who has played an effective role in the anti-imperialist movement for world peace and security and for the social progress of mankind.

"Loved and admired throughout the movement, 'Doc' — as he was popularly known — combined the best qualities of a revolutionary patriot and dynamic leader of the working class. Because of his clear understanding of the factors underlying national oppression and economic exploitation of the black South African masses, he was able, in his own unassuming manner, to guide and inspire others to commit themselves fully in the struggle for the noble ideals of freedom, democracy and a just social order. Most important of all he led by example".

SACP General Secretary Moses Mabhida

In his address at the funeral ceremony Moses Mabhida said:

"I would best describe him as a gentle giant. Dr Dadoo never flinched, he never relented in the fight for the alliance of the oppressed people. Comrade Dadoo was strangely disciplined. He was never a man who lived above any other person. He never defied the word of his organisation.

"Yusuf was the man of his people, he was living in the future of a united people in the struggle against capitalism. We are happy to say that his fight, his struggles, his long journey that he has traversed, is beginning to bear fruits. When our people are resisting the enemy today, it is because of Yusuf. Our Party, our people would like to say in this last minute with our brother that he has travelled for 74 years but that is not what we are counting. He is leaving a glorious legacy. He did not die with his strength. He said his strength, his spear, must be left with those who are still continuing to fight. And for us, for every one of us, we must take up this challenge."

Memorial Meetings Banned

Even after his death the influence of Yusuf Dadoo was feared by the apartheid regime. Memorial meetings which had been planned to honour him in the Transvaal and Natal were banned by the authorities under the Internal Security Act. Scores of people, many of whom had travelled long distances, arrived at the meeting place in Lenasia to find banning notices taped to the door.

Two Transvaal Indian Congress publications were banned under a section of the Publications Act dealing with state security. One was a pamphlet entitled *Yusuf Dadoo — Portrait of a Freedom Fighter,* and the other a poster captioned "Yusuf Dadoo 1909-1983: He fought for freedom — he died our leader".

Mr Cassim Saloojee, of the Transvaal Indian Congress, said:

"The people are very angry that they were not able to mourn the death of one of the sons of our land whom they still regard as their leader".

Obituaries appeared in many South African newspapers, and tributes were paid to him by many leaders:

Mr Archie Gumede, chairman of the Release Mandela Committee in Natal, who had met Dr Dadoo several times, said that what had struck him most was his sincere commitment to the upliftment of the majority of the people in South Africa and his humility as a leader.

Mr M.J. Naidoo, recently unbanned executive member of the Natal Indian Congress, said he considered Dr Dadoo as one of the most significant leaders ever produced by South Africa.

Mr George Sewpersadh, President of the Natal Indian Congress, said Dr Dadoo had dedicated his entire life single-mindedly to the struggle of the oppressed people in South Africa.

Mrs Monty Naicker, widow of former South African Indian Congress President Dr Monty Naicker, said she admired Dr Dadoo for his clear thinking, his wonderful oratory and his total commitment to the liberation struggle.

"Death is a fact of life. I say to Yusuf Dadoo 'Farewell, may you rest in peace. You will always be remembered for your struggle for freedom and justice.' "

Amongst South Africans who travelled to London to pay their last respects at Yusuf Dadoo's funeral were **Dr Essop Jassat,** President of the Transvaal Indian Congress, and **Mr Zac Yacoob,** executive member of the Natal Indian Congress.

Honoured in India

Yusuf Dadoo's lifework was also honoured in India, a country with which he had a strong association and many personal links. **Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi** in a personal letter of condolence sent to Winnie Dadoo, said:

"It was with great sadness that I learnt, while I was in New York, of Dr Dadoo's passing away. I gave a message immediately but could not write to you as I did not have your address.

"Dr Dadoo struggled and suffered all his life for the values of equality and justice which we cherish.

"You, your family and the large numbers of your supporters have my deep sympathy and condolences".

A wreath with a message of condolence was placed on Yusuf Dadoo's grave by a member of the Indian High Commission in London.

In India itself a memorial meeting was held in New Delhi under the auspices of the Communist Party of India. The meeting was presided over by **M. Farooqi,** secretary of the national council of the CPI, and addressed by **N.K. Krishnan,** also a secretary of the national council, and by **Moosa Moola,** chief of the Asian mission of the African National Congress.

Paying a tribute on behalf of the national council of the CPI, M. Farooqi said that Dr Dadoo was not only a leader of the South African Communists but also of the international struggle of the working class against imperialism.

And in Africa

A memorial meeting was held in Maputo on September 24. Speaking on behalf of the Frelimo Party, central committee secretary **Jose Luis Cabaco** said the people of Mozambique were in mourning because "with the death of Yusuf Dadoo we have lost a brother and a comrade.

"We identify with the ANC and with the South African people in having such a wonderful comrade, and we share their sadness at no longer being able to count on his clear opinions, his rich experience, his inexhaustible enthusiasm, the strength of his trust in the people, and his certainty of victory".

The meeting was also addressed by **Robert Conco** on behalf of the national executive of the ANC.

A memorial meeting was held in Toronto on September 25, and addressed by **William Kashtan,** general secretary of the Communist Party of Canada, and **Yusuf Saloojee,** chief representative of the ANC.

Memorial meetings were also held in all centres throughout the world where the ANC has a presence.

STATEMENT BY CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE SA COMMUNIST PARTY

The Central Committee of the South African Communist Party regrets to announce the death on September 19 of its national chairman, Dr Yusuf Mohamed Dadoo, a major leader of the national liberation movement, at the age of 74.

The oppressed peoples of South Africa, and in particular the working class, as well as the international communist movement, have lost the services of an outstanding leader who devoted his entire life to the cause of national liberation, socialism and world peace.

Born in South Africa in 1909, Yusuf Dadoo graduated as a medical doctor at the University of Edinburgh and returned to practise his profession in South Africa, but was immediately drawn into the political struggle. Whilst still in his 20's he found himself in the leadership of campaigns to unite the Indian, African and Coloured people in the fight against white domination. He joined the Communist Party of South Africa in 1939 and found in Marxism-Leninism the theoretical foundation for his lifelong service to the cause of proletarian internationalism.

Yusuf Dadoo was inspired above all by his great humanity and love of people. As the foremost leader of the Indian people in their resistance to the apartheid laws, he worked tirelessly for unity of action with the African majority whose liberation he saw clearly would open the way for true freedom and democracy for all South Africans irrespective of race, creed or colour. He was a lifelong friend of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, whose unity he regarded as indispensable for the defeat of imperialism, the establishment and preservation of the independence of nations, and the defence of world peace.

Yusuf Dadoo, on the last day of his life, made a declaration in which he summed up the three motivating ideas of struggle which had guided him throughout his life:

'Firstly, the regeneration of the militancy of political struggle among the Indian people in the period after my return from London; secondly, as part of this process, the growth of consciousness for the urgent need for unity with the majority of the oppressed, the African people, which led to the unity in action of all oppressed and democratic forces; and thirdly, the development of class consciousness as an integral part, in fact the key, to creating a free, socialist South Africa.'

But there were other factors which raised comrade Dadoo to the greatest heights of leadership, and they were his enormous courage and determination, his loyalty to his ideals and to his comrades, his party and his people, and his devotion to the Soviet Union as the main bastion of revolutionary power and world transformation. Comrade Dadoo went to jail many times in the course of his life. He never flinched and he never wavered. He was ready to give his life at any time. He was prepared for any sacrifice and indeed made many sacrifices for the cause he held most dear — the liberation of mankind. In his last moments he called on all his comrades to carry on where he was being forced to leave off and expressed his complete confidence in final victory.

We South African communists mourn the departure of our comrade chairman, a great leader and friend. We thank him for the inestimable service he has rendered to our cause. We shall remember him with love. We shall never forget his example. We shall try to live up to the high standards of dedication, discipline and drive he set. We pledge to fulfil his last wish to carry on the struggle for freedom and socialism in South Africa — for freedom, socialism and peace in the whole world. Like him we are convinced of final victory.

MESSAGES

The following are extracts from some of the hundreds of messages received from fraternal parties, liberation and solidarity organisations and individuals throughout the world:

CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION

Yusuf Dadoo was a selfless fighter against imperialism, colonialism and apartheid, for the national and social liberation of the people of South Africa, for peace in the whole world. He consistently fought for the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, the cause of unity of revolutionary forces. Yusuf Dadoo made a major contribution to the development of friendship and co-operation between the South African and Soviet peoples.

The fond memory of Yusuf Dadoo will for ever remain in our hearts.

RELEASE MANDELA COMMITTEE, SOUTH AFRICA

Like Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners Yusuf Dadoo dedicated his life to the liberation struggle. Long live solidarity!

R. RAMESAR, SECRETARY GENERAL, NATAL INDIAN CONGRESS

Natal Indian Congress mourns with rest of the freedom-loving people of the world the passing away of our leader Dr Yusuf Dadoo. His self-sacrifice, his commitment to the achievement of a free society, his immeasurable contribution towards the attainment of unity of the oppressed will serve as an inspiration to all South Africans. We share this profound loss with family, nation and the world.

UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT, SOUTH AFRICA

We salute Yusuf Dadoo, hero of the nation, architect of national unity freedom fighter, upholder of justice.

E. HONECKER, GENERAL SECRETARY, CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST UNITY PARTY OF GERMANY

The South African Communist Party, the working class and the working people of South Africa as well as the international working class have suffered a painful loss. Comrade Dr Yusuf Dadoo pledged his whole life to the self-sacrificing struggle against apartheid and for the liberation of the oppressed peoples in South Africa from the imperialist and colonial yoke.

The Socialist Unity Party of Germany will always honour the memory of Comrade Dr Yusuf Dadoo, a steadfast Marxist-Leninist, tried and tested revolutionary and consistent champion for the unity and cohesion of the international communist and working class movement, a sincere friend of the German Democratic Republic.

A. NZO, SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE ANC

Doc's contribution to our national liberation movement is an important chapter of the revolutionary history of our people. We shally sadly miss him.

C. RAJESWARA RAO, GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA

The National Council of the Communist Party of India deeply mourns and expresses heartfelt condolences at the passing away of comrade Yusuf Dadoo, a valiant fighter against racism and for African liberation, an outstanding leader of the international Communist movement and a great friend of the Indian people.

S. DLAMINI, PRESIDENT OF SACTU

The South African Congress of Trade Unions dips its banner at the untimely death of the great son of our people and the leader of the South African Communist Party and the national liberation movement. Our fighting people will be the poorer with this sudden death of our leader who for almost 50 years was in the forefront of the struggle against racism and national oppression.

ALHAJI MAITAMA-SULE, CHAIRMAN UNITED NATIONS SPECIAL COMMITTEE AGAINST APARTHEID

His contribution in developing an alliance of all oppressed people of South Africa in the liberation struggle, his vision of a truly non-racial and democratic South Africa, his courage and sacrifice will continue to be an inspiration to the South African people in their final onslaught against racist tyranny.

YOHANNES G.SELASSIE, ACTING HEAD OF THE ETHIOPIAN SOLIDARITY PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP COMMITTEE, ADDIS ABABA

Though the sudden death of comrade Dadoo has robbed the South African people of a genuine hero, his life-long dedication in the forefront of the struggle for the liberation of the South African people will remain a lasting inspiration for the staunch resistance against the evils of apartheid.

CENTRAL COMMITTEE, COMMUNIST PARTY OF CUBA

He dedicated his life to the oppressed masses of South Africa. Guided by the principles of Marxism-Leninism, a firm defender of unity, he never swerved for a moment from advocating the unity of the South African Communist Party with other organisations to carry forward the struggle under the leadership of the ANC.

Convinced that the unity of the oppressed masses would yield final victory over the fascist regime which oppressed his people, Dadoo clearly understood, as a true internationalist, the organic relationship between the struggle in South Africa and the world-wide struggle against capitalism, colonialism, neo-colonialism and imperialism, for national freedom, peace, democracy and socialism.

SEYDOU CISSOKHO, GENERAL SECRETARY, SENEGAL PARTY OF INDEPENDENCE AND LABOUR

We have learned of the death of comrade Yusuf Dadoo, chairman of the South African Communist Party, great revolutionary leader, African patriot and internationalist. We mourn his passing as a heavy loss to our entire party.

CENTRAL COMMITTEE, SOCIALIST VANGUARD PARTY OF ALGERIA

We shall never forget the frontline role he played in forging the current unity of all the patriotic and anti-racist forces in South Africa. We shall never forget that he was a resolute fighter against every manifestation of anti-Sovietism and anti-communism, a tireless struggler for cohesion and unity in the international communist and workers' movement, for the unity in action of the three revolutionary currents of our epoch; a passionate militant in the cause of world peace, international detente and disarmament.

ROMESH CHANDRA, PRESIDENT OF THE WORLD PEACE COUNCIL

The World Peace Council learns with deep regret of the passing away of Dr Yusuf Mohamed Dadoo, a most venerated member of its Presidential Committee and a doughty fighter for peace and against social injustice in all its forms. It is in connection with his long and courageous struggle against the evils of racism and apartheid in South Africa that he will best be remembered.

LANDMARKS IN A LIFE OF STRUGGLE

1909 Yusuf Mohamed Dadoo born in Krugersdorp, Transvaal, on September 5, the son of a well-to-do Indian businessman.

1927 Matriculates at Aligarh College in India, after attending schools in Krugersdorp and Johannesburg.

1929 Arrives in London to study medicine. Arrested for demonstrating against imperialism. His father insists he transfer to Edinburgh.

1936 After qualifying as a doctor, LRCP and LRCS (Edin.) and LRFP and S. (Glas.), Dadoo returns to practise in South Africa. Active in Transvaal Indian Congress.

1938 One of the founders of the Non-European United Front in Johannesburg.

1939 Joins Communist Party of South Africa. Forms nationalist bloc in Transvaal Indian Congreess to work for progressive policies and leadership.

1940 Arrested for printing and distributing a Non-European United Front leaflet which said: "Don't support this war, where the rich get richer and the poor get killed". Refuses to pay fine of £25, but saved from imprisonment by a supporter who pays fine for him.

1941 Arrested for allegedly inciting African people in a speech at a Benoni meeting. Refused to pay fine of £40 and goes to jail. On release he is restricted under Emergency Regulations.

1941 After Nazi attack on Soviet Union in June, Communist Party declares that character of war has changed. Dadoo one of those entrusted with raising support for anti-Nazi struggle.

1943 Opens anti-pass conference called in Johannesburg by CPSA.

1945 Active in anti-pass campaign. Member of delegation to government protesting against pass laws. Fined £5 for taking part in unauthorised procession.

1945 National Anti-Pass Council elected with Dr A.B. Xuma, ANC President, as chairman and Dadoo as vice-chairman.

1945 Nationalist bloc defeats reactionaries in Transvaal Indian Congress leadership. Dadoo elected TIC president.

1946 One of the leaders of passive resistance campaign against Smuts' anti-Indian laws. Serves six months prison sentence.

1946 Arrested with 50 others on charge under Riotous Assemblies Act of inciting 100,000 African mineworkers to go on strike. Eventually fined £50 for aiding the strike after it had broken out.

1947 Together with Dr G.M.Naicker, leader of the Natal Indian Congress, tours India to win support for passive resistance campaign against Smuts' Ghetto Act. Meets Gandhi, Nehru and Jinnah.

1947 Historic Dadoo-Xuma-Naicker Pact signed pledging co-operation of Africans and Indians in struggle against discriminatory and oppressive laws and demanding full franchise rights for all.

1948 Dadoo and Naicker sentenced to six months imprisonment for defying 1913 Immigration Act prohibiting Indians from moving from one province to another without a permit.

1948 On release from prison, Dadoo refused permission to leave South Africa to present Indian case to United Nations.

1948 After Nationalist victory in general elections, calls for national convention to defeat the apartheid regime.

1948 Leaves South Africa without a passport to attend UN session in Paris. Meets Nehru in London, Dimitrov in Bulgaria. Visits other socialist countries. Travels on to India where he addresses Constituent Assembly on disabilities of Indians and other oppressed in SA. Visits Pakistan.

1949 On return home, banned from speaking in 8 main centres of the country.

1950 Elected President of the South African Indian Congress.

1951 Active in campaign against disfranchisement of Coloured voters. Calls for all-out resistance to Group Areas Act.

1952 Elected one of five members of the Joint Planning Council to organise Defiance of Unjust laws campaign. (The others are J.B. Marks, Walter Sisulu, Dr J.S. Moroka and Y. Cachalia.)

1952 Banned under Suppression of Communism Act from attending all gatherings and ordered to resign from Indian Congress and Joint Planning Council of Defiance Campaign. Defies his ban, addresses meeting and sentenced to six months imprisonment — his seventh prison sentence (quashed on appeal on a legal technicality).

1952 Together with 19 others, charged under Suppression of Communism Act for organising Defiance Campaign and given suspended sentence of 9 months imprisonment for what the judge called "statutory communism".

1953 Banned from taking part in the activities of a further 15 organisations.

1953 Dadoo elected to central committee of newly constituted SA Communist Party at first congress held illegally in Johannesburg.

1955 Anouncement made at historic Congress of the People that Dadoo, Chief Albert Lutuli and Father Trevor Huddleston awarded traditional African decoration of Isitwalandwe-Seaparankoe. Because of bans, only Huddleston able to attend, but Dadoo's award accepted by his mother.

1957 Dadoo banned for a further five years from attending gatherings.

1959 Arrested at Howick, Natal, under immigration laws banning Indian movement from province to province without permission.

1960 After Sharpeville shooting and declaration of State of Emergency Dadoo sent overseas by decision of Communist Party and Indian Congress to organise external apparatus and solidarity campaigns.

1962 After arrest of Nelson Mandela, Dadoo leads procession in London demanding his release. Visits India and has talks with Nehru.

1969 Elected vice-chairman of the Revolutionary Council of the African National Congress.

1972 After death of J.B. Marks, elected national chairman of the South African Communist Party.

At the time of his death Dr Dadoo was national chairman of the SACP, a vice-chairman of the ANC Politico-Military Council, and a member of the Presidential Committee of the World Peace Council, in whose activities he had taken a prominent part for many years. He had led many delegations of the SACP to many different parts of the world and was a firm champion of the international Communist movement. On his 70th birthday he was awarded the Order of Dimitrov of Bulgaria, the Order of Karl Marx by the German Democratic Republic, the Order of the Friendship of the Peoples by the Soviet Union, the Gold Medal of the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organisation, the Scroll of Honour of the World Peace Council, the Decoration of the Hungarian Peace Movement and the 'Wielki Proletariat' of Poland.

DR DADOO'S FAREWELL TO HIS COMRADES

Message to a meeting of the Central Committee of the SACP written and signed hours before his death

Dearest Comrades and Colleagues,

It is with deep sorrow and great personal regret that I inform you of my inability to attend this most important meeting. It will be the first time since the reconstitution of our Party that I have been absent from ordinary or plenary sessions of the Central Committee. Furthermore, since my election as chairman in 1972, this will be the first time I am deprived of the honour and privilege of presiding over the deliberations of the Central Committee. I am sure you will all understand that my absence is due entirely to my present poor state of health.

It is now, reflecting on events from my hospital bed, that I fully realise the faith, confidence, loyalty and dedication that comrades of the Party, at all levels, have shown to me, particularly over the last difficult months. The high standing our Party enjoys has also been demonstrated by the fact that messages of support during my illness have come from many fraternal parties, governments, liberation movements, cadres in the front line at home, and not least, from individuals throughout the world. This depth of concern and love so freely expressed has touched me deeply. I would like to say to all of you whom I have come to know and love over the many difficult years we have worked together, that your support and caring is what has sustained me. I am humbled to be the recipient of such devotion.

Our Party, whatever its weaknesses over the years, has also consistently been a great source of strength and power. This strength is rooted in the firm foundations laid, from the very beginning, the emphasis placed on a correct understanding of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism by all cadres; on the emphasis of education classes and the correct teaching of Marxism-Leninism to cadres; on the unqualified discipline and high level of commitment demanded from cadres, and in the unswerving loyalty and respect our Party has for the CPSU.

At this juncture in history, when the Reagan Administration is threatening the world with nuclear destruction, it is the fundamental task of communist parties and the international communist movement as a whole to awaken world public opinion and bring all their force to bear in the struggle to ensure people understand that the defenceof peace lies in support for the Soviet Union and the world socialist movement. The unity of communist parties is vital to counteract the propaganda efforts and disinformation of world imperialism, which is attempting to brand the Soviet Union as the enemy of humankind.

The years of painstaking work by the Party and the ANC are showing results. There is the continued tremendous growth of internal, organised opposition exemplified by, among other events, the momentous gathering in Cape Town during last month which launched the United Democratic Front. At the same time this growth of resistance imposes its own exacting demands on our Party. The gains achieved must be consolidated. The mass of our people are united as never before to engage in all-out battle for the overthrow of the apartheid regime. It is our task and our revolutionary duty to ensure that our proud history of struggle bears fruit; that guidance and direction is clearly given; that the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism are correctly understood in the context of our struggle.

Our strength in the past has been built upon the depth of our Party's and cadres' ideological knowledge and understanding. The fierce ideological battle being waged on many fronts must not find our Party wanting. It is in this context that we need to assess here today, and in our forthcoming deliberations, our weaknesses and strengths, our successes and failures. We must frankly, honestly and realistically provide direction for enhancing our work in the testing time that lies ahead.

Of prime importance is ideological work at every level. We need to critically assess our effectiveness in this key area. To what extent have we taken our policy and programme to the masses? To what extent has it become understood by the people as their own policy? Have we made sufficient efforts to ensure our own cadres understand the Party's policy in present-day conditions, and, with such an understanding, do our cadres have a clear idea as to his or her duty in carrying out allocated tasks?

Today, almost as never before, the South African workers are on the march. In this field a great responsibility rests on our Party. We are the revolutionary Party of the working class, whose clear role is that of the vanguard in the fight for socialism. The working class, in essence the black working class in our country, is the pivotal force in the struggle for a revolutionary overthrow of the entire apartheid system. As such our Party must place its main focus and emphasis in organising, uniting and giving clear guidance to this class, which forms the backbone of our struggle. Included in this task is assessing our strength and weakness in the trade union movement as a whole, assessing (re-defining if necessary) the role of Sactu, and ensuring our future working in this vital field meets the demands of the time.

The Botha regime, fighting for the very survival of Nationalist rule, has launched an offensive spearheaded by the creation of a President's Council, backed up by the constitutional proposals, the Koornhof Bills, and an all-out effort at the creation of a black middle class. It is our urgent task to ensure all-out mobilisation to defeat this new enemy manoeuvre.

In his "Analysis of the Existing Situation and Land Marks for the Future", given in an address to the Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the CPSU on June 15th, 1983, Comrade Andropov, General Secretary of the CPSU, said: "In politics one pays for one's errors. When the guiding role of a Communist Party weakens, there arises the danger of sliding back to a bourgeois-reformist way of development. If a Party loses touch with the people, self-proclaimed aspirants to the role of those who express the interests of the working people emerge in the ensuing vacuum". We have witnessed the consequences of such developments in Poland. We, working in underground conditions of the harshest nature, must ensure that we leave no stone unturned in our efforts to create the conditions whereby our Party, the working class and the liberation struggle are one and the same thing.

I have every confidence that this meeting will correctly analyse the present developments in our country and will establish guidelines and directives for our future effective working; will accurately assess the workings of our Party in keeping with the strengthening of our deeprooted alliance with the African National Congress and the armed wing of the liberation movement, Umkhonto we Sizwe; will look at the role of the Party in the present-day heightened imperialist offensive and ensure we continue to play our part in defending and strengthening the world socialist community, and, above all, will produce a programme of action that will enable our Party, our cadres and our people to be more than equal to the challenge that lies ahead.

I would like to say that throughout my life I have tried to serve my people, my country and the cause for which I have lived. There are many individuals who have greatly influenced me. Many incidents have contributed to my development as a communist and freedom fighter. Figures such as Malume, JB and Mick stand out as beacons, while over the years my thoughts never strayed far from those entombed, tragically for so long, on Robben Island and Pretoria Central, now Pollsmoor or even "whereabouts unknown". Our duty, in paying tribute to their selfless courage, is to go forward with renewed vigour, rededication and self-sacrifice, characteristics which have consistently been our hallmarks.

Finally, to all of you I hold so dear, I would like to express my heartfelt thanks and appreciation for the years of true comradeship and love we have shared. I have indeed been privileged to know you.

I wish this meeting every success in its deliberations.

Long Live the South African Communist Party!
Long Live the African National Congress!
Forward to Freedom!

Yusuf Dadoo.

Yusuf Dadoo
Chairman, South African Communist Party
19th September, 1983

EDITORIAL NOTES

AFTER THE REFERENDUM

The great South African "constitutional" con has moved predictably to the end of the first act. In the time-honoured white South African tradition, the minority white regime decided for itself that the time for a constitutional revision had come. The black majority was not consulted. Solemnly the regime cobbled together a "constitutional" framework for a totally dictatorial state. Solemnly it went through a traditional white South African "democratic" charade consulting only itself and excluding the 81% black majority. Solemnly it declared a "majority" vote in favour of a white based power structure and the continuation of white rule — as though any other outcome had ever been possible. And solemnly it went on to describe its cosmetic proposals — for a Coloured and Indian puppet appendix to the white state — as "reform".

The referendum campaign itself was one of those epic Tweedledum-versus-Tweedledee pillow fights into which the white electorate enters with such enthusiasm — each side claiming passionately to be the only *real* defender of white South African baasskap, and each portraying the other as the betrayers of their god-given title to state supremacy. That the real issue in this referendum was whether institutionalised inferiority for Indian and Coloured minorities would be better or worse than the present non-institutionalised inferiority, only makes the absurd contest even more absurd. No one bothered to consult Coloured or Indian citizens on whether they wanted to become the constitutionally accredited "kitchen boys" of the white Parliament and President or not; and no one bothered that a decision would be reached by the white electorate alone. South Africa's "parliamentary" tradition was being honoured once again; the white politicians and electorate would decide what was best for blacks, and then tell them. Not even those scheduled for elevation to the rank of appendages to the white Parliament would be consulted or allowed to vote. What then was the bitter electoral shadow-play all about?

It is necessary first to appreciate that the fundamental South African issue — which determines all main aspects of politics, economics and social relations — is the issue of breaking the white monopoly of state power and extending power to the whole people. But on this central issue there is a white consensus, a conspiracy. The issues of power, of majority government, or of universal participation in political affairs, are taboo. They are not to be discussed, raised or even contemplated in white electoral contests. Election struggles are to be restricted to subordinate and peripheral matters only. The recent referendum campaign was no exception to this pattern. All parties started from the absolute conviction, come what may, that white state power must be preserved. The campaign and vote therefore settled down into the comfortable and well trodden white South African disputations about how best — and who best — to ensure perpetuation of that power.

On this basic issue the electorate divided. The ruling National Party, led by Prime Minister P.W. Botha, campaigned for the new constitution, which provided separate and inferior "houses" for Coloured and Indian group representatives; these "houses" would be part of "Parliament", but with no prospect of ever exercising any real influence over any major white group decision. This change, the Party claimed, would enrol — perhaps the right word is conscript — 3½ million Coloureds and Indians in the white fortress, as camp followers, auxiliaries and ultimately no doubt as part of the army to be used as cannon fodder against the encroaching African majority. Countering this optimistic scenario, the extreme white-supremacist Afrikaner 'verkramptes' led by Dr. Treurnicht, took the pessimistic view — that *any* voting rights or parliamentary representation for *any* section of the blacks, even that derisory appendage proposed in the new constitution, would be the "thin end of the wedge" which would breach the ramparts of white power and throw the nation wide open to the black hordes outside the walls.

If any small flicker of libertarian or democratic principle was visible in this contest, it came from the mainly English-speaking Progressive Federal Party, the "official" Parliamentary opposition. After considerable temporising and agonising, and with some dissension in its ranks, the PFP finally resolved to oppose the proposed constitution because it contained no new dispensation for the African majority. Yet even here — in this "left wing" of white Parliamentary opinion — it should be noted that the concept that whites alone could decide the future of the blacks was never challenged; the challenge was to *what* the white regime proposed to do — not to the arrogation of decision making to the white minority alone.

Every South African election is fought out with an intense passion; bitter denunciations and slanders are flung about; meetings are broken up and speakers assailed with crude physical assault. And yet because these are essentially mock battles, fought over piffling points of triviality in the whole fabric of South African life, they almost always produce elements of farce. This referendum was no exception. It was characterised from the start as a mock battle, when the Prime Minister announced that even if the electorate voted NO the Government would remain in office unmoved. This mock-battle character of the issue produced also a farcical alignment of the arch-chauvinistic and fascistic verkramptes with the most liberalistic of the Parliamentary "left", the PFP; bitterest of enemies at one in a mock battle for a No-vote, each arguing passionate but diametrically opposed reasons for doing so.

In the end, of course, the white electorate voted as it always has: for naked self interest, and its perception of the best for white supremacy. Such arguments of democratic principle or of long-term considerations as were advanced by the PFP for a NO vote were brushed aside even by their own supporters. Where the PFP is usually strong, the NO vote was weak. Only in the heartlands of verkrampte reaction was there a strong NO vote. With one fiercely verkrampte exception, every constituency in the country — rural and urban, English speaking and Afrikaans speaking — voted solidly YES. Two thirds of less than a million voters thus decided to conscript the 3½ million Coloured and Indian citizens to the laager, and lock the 21 million Africans securely outside.

Or that at least was the calculation. There can be little certainty that everything that the regime will do by way of bribery, corruption, intimidation or cajolery will in the end induce any Indian or Coloured leaders of stature or credibility to participate in the lower-tier basements of the white dominated Parliament; and still less certainly that they will be able to drag a credible numbers of voters to the polls in any such lower-caste elections as are held. These things remain to be seen in the next act of Botha's constitutional drama (or farce?), which will no longer be a mock battle between fundamentally agreeing whites alone, but a real battle between the white state and the Coloured and Indian people, for their real future. Botha's referendum victory remains still a paper victory in a mock battle, with the real battle still ahead — the white minority power against the growing black opposition.

Botha's announcement that even if the electorate voted NO, his government would remain in power unchanged not only emphasised the unreal nature of the contest, but also a confident assumption that nothing in the referendum campaign would change anything in the edifice of white South African power. That assumption has proved false. In fact — though such an outcome was never intended — the referendum has changed the shape of South African politics. The solid Afrikaner block, dominated by the National Party and its inner Broederbond caucus, which has held South Africa in its iron grip since 1948, has been split asunder. Top leaders of the Broederbond, of the Afrikaner church and politics — have defected from the fold and turned upon their compatriots. The National Party regime no longer rests on the bedrock of a united Afrikaner volk, but has been driven back into dependence on the unstable, shifting ideological sand of English-speaking support.

False too was the Botha assumption that prospects of status and office, even in the servants-hall of a white Parliament, would seduce first the Coloured and Indian leaders, then their people, out of the camp of black resistance. Those leaders who allowed themselves to be led into temptation — like the formerly popular leaders of the Coloured Labour Party — instantly lost all standing and support within their own community. Before even the referendum had been completed they became outcasts for agreeing to participate in the three-tier Parliament should it ever be convened. Their meetings were broken up in public denunciation; their speeches were drowned by protest, their claims to lead or to represent their community have been totally discredited. If they are still Coloured leaders willing to *serve* — the word is appropriate for the menial status — in the Coloured "house" under the new constitution, they are too few and already too discredited to carry the Coloured people with them. And thus far, no credible leader of the

Indian people has come forward to take the Uncle-Tom path to office, and few are likely to. Botha's referendum then has succeeded only in creating new weaknesses and strains in his own white camp, and further alienation of the Coloured-Indian people from his collaborators and camp followers in the black. The purposes of the referendum have thus gone fatally wrong, even while the voting appears to have gone so right.

There has been an orchestrated campaign from apologists for white South Africa abroad, and from traditionally anti-government English-speaking voters at home, to present the Government's constitutional proposals as a "reform", deserving sympathy and support — as a brave attempt by Botha to break the traditional white-exclusiveness mould of South African politics. There could be no more transparent a fig leaf to hide an indecent act of naked power-grabbing. There has never been any desire to "reform". Botha and his Party in 1951 wiped out the last remnant of Coloured voting rights in the Cape Province; their motives then were nakedly racist and white-supremacist. Today, in seeking to return Coloureds to the lower reaches of a white-dominated Parliament, their motives are still racist and power grabbing. What moves them is not a desire for reform, but fear. Unlike 1948, the regime stands under assault from all sides — from black trade unions and from mass popular resistance, uniting in such bodies as the United Democratic Front; and above all, from armed attack by the extending forces of Umkhonto we Sizwe and the ANC. It is fear for the future of white supremacy, not confidence, that has called forth the new constitutional proposals.

Botha stands like some latter-day Canute amidst the rising tide of mass resistance — vainly trying to turn the tide aside. As each magic incantation is tried and proved ineffectual — 'apartheid;' 'separate development'; 'Bantustan independence' — the regime begins to flounder, to cast about it desperately for firmer sand on which to make a stand.

But too late. The tide of South African liberation is rising to the flood; and nothing can now prevent that tide washing away the footholds of a regime whose time has passed.

Presidential rule — Botha style

There may amongst our readers be some who do not know the actual provisions proposed for the Botha 'constitution'. Indeed, these are more far-reaching than just the matter of the three-tier Parliament. What is in fact being proposed, along with a three-tier Parliament, is a recipe for the dissolution of that Parliamentary form of government which has existed since the Act of Union in 1910, and the substitution of a quasi-Presidential form of government, which will be able to slip easily into a crude dictatorship outside of Parliament. This too represents Botha's preparation for the next step of a drowning regime — backward into open police-cum-military rule, and final abandonment of the South African pretence to be a democracy.

The provisions of the constitution will include the following: Parliament will have three "houses", elected respectively by whites, Coloureds and Indians. A state President will be picked by an Electoral College of members of all three "houses" — 50 white, 25 Coloured and 13 Indian. Each "house" will elect its own representatives by majority vote; thus the white majority party will effectively control the election of the President. The President will appoint a Cabinet of members of any of the three "houses", or from outside the "houses" (subject to such an appointee becoming a member of a "house" within a year.)

He will also appoint a Ministers Council for each "house". Members of Ministers Councils will only hold portfolios for "own affairs" — that is matters exclusively affecting their own racial group.

There will be a President's Council, comprising 20 members selected by the white "house", 10 by the Coloured and 5 by the Indian, an additional 15 President's Councillors appointed by the President, and a further 10 selected by the "houses" by proportional representation, in the ratio of 6 white, three Coloured and one Indian.

The President's Council will advise the President on matters of public interest, excluding draft legislation. It will, when asked to do so by the President, arbitrate between "houses" in matters of dispute on "general affairs" — that is, bills other than "own affairs" bills. The President need not act on the advice of the Council, unless he has asked the Council for a ruling. The President will determine which matters are "own affairs" and which are "general affairs." "Own affairs" bills will not be dealt with in any way whatsoever by "houses" other than that whose "own affairs" it is.

Democratic reform — white South Africa style!

US WARMONGERS MUST BE STOPPED!

When the United States last October was forced to use its veto to prevent the Security Council of the United Nations from passing a resolution condemning (by 11 votes to 1 with three abstentions) its invasion of Grenada, one thing became crystal clear — that the whole world now branded the US as a warmonger, distrusted the Reagan administration and feared for the worst if something was not done to check the Pentagon's militarist ambitions.

The year 1983 closed on an ominous note. The South Korean airplane incident, the Israeli invasion of Lebanon, the US invasion of Grenada, South African aggression against neighbouring states, US insistence on the installation in Europe of Cruise and Pershing missiles, the increasing violence and recklessness of Reagan's rhetoric against the Soviet Union — all were pointers to the adoption by the US of a programme for war as the only way to make the world safe for capitalism.

The tragic costs of Reagan's attempt to impose a Pax Americana on the world continue to mount. The Lebanon has been turned into a charnel house stacked with tens of thousands of corpses. In Grenada the reforms of four years brought about by the New Jewel Movement have been wiped out together with the existing and potential leadership and the island has been converted into a US military base. The governments of Angola, Mozambique, Nicaragua, Ethiopia and many other non-aligned nations are branded as Soviet satellites and subjected to measures of destabilisation and economic pressure with the ultimate threat of invasion to force them to toe the line.

There can be no expectation of an improvement in the US stance during 1984, for this is an election year in which the Presidency, the whole House of Representatives and one third of the Senate are put up for auction to the highest bidder. We are made to understand that Reagan's popularity was never so great as after the invasion of Grenada, just as that of Mrs Thatcher soared after the Falklands war. We can expect to see Reagan attempting to consolidate his macho image, striking attitudes to impress a sensation-seeking electorate, fulminating ever more stridently against Cuba and the Soviet Union, seeking to overwhelm his opponents with the American counterpart of jingoism.

The danger is, of course, that Reagan is juggling not merely with words but with the most deadly weapons, and there are signs that the US leadership, drunk with its own anti-communist and anti-Soviet rhetoric, is being subjected to ever greater pressure from the military-industrial complex, for which it is the mouthpiece, to match its words with deeds. The Grenada invasion showed just how heedless the US has become of the opinions not merely of its opponents, but even of its so-called allies, as it pursues its headlong and relentless march towards Armageddon.

Three factors in recent months have combined to rouse world distrust of US intentions: the Korean airplane disaster, the US invasion of Grenada, and the Geneva talks on the limitation of intermediate range nuclear missiles in Europe.

The Korean airplane incident

Whatever mistakes may have been made on the Soviet side, the US has failed to answer a number of key questions. Why was the plane over 500 kilometres off-course? Why did the US, which was closely monitoring the plane's passage, not notify either the pilot or the Soviet Union that the plane was off course? Why has the United States not published its record of all messages issued by the pilot during the last hours of his flight, apart from the last sentence indicating that he was losing height?

Failure by the US to answer these and other questions have satisfied the whole world, including a majority of those polled in the United States itself, that the US has deliberately withheld evidence which would have proved conclusviely that the plane was on a spying mission on behalf of US military intelligence. Yet the Soviet Union was subjected to a nasty and vicious campaign of sanctions by a number of western nations who, significantly, remained completely unmoved when Israel shot down a Libyan passenger plane in February 1973, killing 179 passengers; and equally unmoved by the mass murder of tens of thousands of Palestinian refugees following the Israeli invasion of Lebanon.

The invasion of Grenada

The US has lied about this from start to finish. It had planned the invasion for months, yet lied that it acted in response to an invitation issued by Grenadians after the death in unexplained circumstances of former premier Bishop and some of his associates. Even the craven governor-general Scoon confessed afterwards that he had never asked for an invasion, and in fact it is clear that the whole exercise was orchestrated from outside Grenada and that Scoon only signed a letter of invitation after he had been whisked off the island by US troops and placed under US "protection" on the aircraft carrier Guam.

Reagan claimed he decided to invade Grenada to save the lives of American students — yet the head of the American college where they were studying said they were never in any danger. Reagan claimed the Cubans were constructing a military runway and that the Russians and Cubans were planning to take over the island and use it as a base for terrorism throughout the world. Yet the firm mainly involved on the technical side was the British firm Plesseys, who insisted that there were no military facilities at the airfield which was plainly intended purely for civilian use. Reagan claimed US troops got to Grenada "just in time" — just in time for what? There is not the slightest evidence that the Grenadians, Cubans, Russians or anyone else was planning anything except the economic development of the island. Yet now the Yankee paranoia has led to the destruction of the Grenadian social experiment and the restoration of bourgeois rule.

The Geneva arms talks

Nowhere has US bad faith been demonstrated so clearly. The decision to instal Cruise and Pershing missiles in Europe was taken, on US initiative, as long ago as 1979. The Geneva talks were accepted by the US in a bid to allay public alarm reflected in the growing strength of the peace movement in Europe. Throughout the negotiations, the Soviet Union has made proposal after proposal designed to reduce the number of intermedate range nuclear weapons deployed in Europe, but every offer has been spurned by a US administration determined to see its weapons installed no matter what the cost in money or goodwill.

The time has come for the peoples of the world to ask themselves: who is threatening whom? It is the United States, not the Soviet Union, which believes a nuclear war is winnable. It is the United States, not the Soviet Union, which believes it can succeed with a first strike. It is the United States which rejects the policy of detente whilst all Soviet leaders and media plead for the reduction of tension world wide. It is the United States and its western allies who condition their peoples to regard the Soviet Union, not merely as an ideological opponent, but as the enemy in a future war.

The tensions generated by US policies and actions have reached dangerous levels. US troops invade Grenada, US troops entrench themselves in the Middle East, US troops conduct manoeuvres in Honduras, Egypt, the Caribbean, Sudan and many other so-called non-aligned countries. US troops ready themselves in the 2,500 bases with which they have surrounded the Soviet Union. and US anti-Soviet and anti-Communist propaganda becomes ever more strident and bellicose.

Signs are not lacking that even America's allies are becoming frightened by the warmongering tactics of the Reagan administration; yes, even Thatcher distanced herself from the invasion of Grenada — not out of love for freedom and democracy and respect for international law, but out of fear for the future of Britain itself. The US administration believes it is strong enough to override international law and world opinion, including the opinion of its allies. It is time for the people of the world to make it clear through mass action of every kind that the US will not be allowed to get away with it. The US warmongers must be halted in their tracks and the world made safe for people to live in.

A PEOPLE'S LEADER PASSES

Comrade Dora Tamana died on July 23, 1983 at her home in Cape Town. With her death our Party and our people have lost a dedicated and courageous fighter for a free South Africa.

She was born in Hlobo, Transkei on November 11, 1901. Her father and uncles lost their lives in the 1921 Bulhoek massacre in which 163 people were shot dead by the Smuts regime. Among the few voices of protest raised aganst the Bulhoek massacre were those of Wilfred Harrison and the 80-year-old William Dryburgh of the then United Communist Party, one of the forerunners of the Communist Party of South Africa. The Bulhoek massacre made a deep impression on Dora, then aged 20.

In 1923 she married John Tamana and they had four children, three of whom died from starvation. Her husband left to seek work in Cape Town and she joined him in 1930. Not long after they had settled in the Blouvlei suburb of Cape Town, the homes of the people living there were threatened with demolition and the resistance to this led her to the ANC and to meeting Moses Kotane with whom she worked on this campaign, which ended in success.

In 1942 Dora joined the Communist Party. Her main work was among women and children and she pioneered the first creche for African and Coloured children. She participated in the struggles against passes and influx control, took part in the Defiance Campaign of 1952 and in 1953 she helped to organise a successful campaign against the removal of the bread subsidy which resulted in an increase in the price of bread by 2d. The Nationalist Party and their Finance Minister Havenga were forced to cancel this increase.

In 1954 she helped to establish the Federation of South African Women and became secretary when Ray Alexander was banned. She left South Africa illegally together with Lilian Ngoyi in 1955 to attend a meeting of the Women's International Democratic Federation in Lausanne. They visited London, Berlin, Peking, Tashkent and Moscow and learnt much from this trip, in turn making a lasting impression on everyone whom they met.

Dora was detained in the 1960 State of Emergency and was again held in 1963. When the Rivonia accused were sentenced in 1964 she helped organise visits to Robben Island and provided assistance for the relatives visiting the prisoners.

Over the years Dora always saw to it that August 9 — South African Women's Day — was remembered. In 1978 she helped organise a big rally for August 9 and at this meeting the United Women's Association was established, the forerunner of the United Women's Organisation whose conference she opened in April 1981 with a fiery speech.

On August 9 of the previous year she had been one of three honoured guests who attended the meeting — Annie Silinga and Frances Baard were the other two.

In September 1981 she opened the annual conference of the Food and Canning Workers' Union and on August 9, 1982, she was at the Women's Day meeting held in Cape Town. She continued all her activities despite increasing frailty and loss of her eyesight. Her spirit never faltered.

Her son Bothwell joined Umkhonto we Sizwe and participated in the 1967 Wankie operation against the South African and Rhodesian military forces. He was captured and spent 13 years in Smith's maximum security prisons. He was released after Zimbabwe's independence in 1980, but never

On October 14, 1983, the general secretary of the South African Communist Party, Moses Mabhida, celebrated his 60th birthday. In honour of the occasion he was awarded the order of the Friendship of the Peoples by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR. Our picture shows the award being presented to comrade Mabhida at a ceremony in the Kremlin, Moscow, by Antanas S. Barkauskas, Deputy Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet.

recovered from the brutal tortures he suffered at the hands of his captors. During his captivity Dora regularly travelled 1,500 miles to see her son and our other MK cadres but after October 1976, when Transkei became "independent", Dora refused to apply for a Transkeian passport which she needed to leave the country and she died without seeing him again.

Dora was also a strong supporter of the peace movement and in 1953 helped organise one of the first meetings of the Cape Town Peace Council in a hall near where she lived. Although there was no electricity in Blouvlei she arranged a showing of slides sent by the Japanese Peace Council so that the people were able to see the effects of the atom bombs which had been dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. It made a powerful impact on the audience, many of whom did not realise the terrible implications of nuclear war.

Her indomitable spirit, her courage and determination earned her the admiration of all who knew her and more than 2,000 people from every corner of our country came to honour her and pay their last respects when she was buried on August 6. Guards of honour were dressed in black and green uniforms and her coffin was draped with an ANC flag. Hamba kahle, comrade Dora! You will live on in our hearts forever.

A UNITED PEOPLE WILL DEFEAT THE ENEMY

Statement adopted by the Central Committee of the South African Communist Party, September 1983

In South Africa, political and economic factors are converging to confront the ruling class with a crisis of immense proportions.

Despite the employment of increasing terror by the regime in its attempts to arrest the march towards liberation, the oppressed and exploited people of our country are demonstrating by their actions a total rejection of race rule. And among the various strata of our people there are signs of growing defiance and upsurge.

The wave of illegal strikes continues in all parts of our country as our working class acts to put a halt to the assault on its working and living conditions. Among the student youth there are again significant signs of stirring at the universities and the schools. Faced with a triple burden of oppression more and more black women are being drawn into the liberation struggle. The Ciskei terror against the working population has not succeeded in preventing outbreaks of organised opposition and demonstration. Every attempt by the authorities to impose increased rent and bus fares leads to spirited resistance from those affected.

The regime's desperate effort to gain acceptance for its programme of so-called constitutional reform, is meeting with less and less success. The number of postponements of projected elections for the community councils is a sign that the overwhelming mass of urban dwellers reject this apartheid institution. The sell-out decision by the Labour Party on the new constitutional proposals has been met by massive opposition from the coloured people; the tour of Labour Party leaders to gain national support for their decision could hardly attract an audience prepared to listen to them. So far the regime has been unable to find an organised force among the Indian community to attempt to engage it in a similar sell-out. Instead, the rejuvenation and resurgence of Indian Congress organisations has everywhere been met with enthusiastic support.

The heroic and increasingly effective actions of MK combatants are greeted everywhere amongst the people with acclaim. Despite the most savage repression against the underground activists of our liberation movement there are continuous open demonstrations (during funerals, trials of our cadres, important anniversaries, etc) of support for the ANC and the Freedom Charter. The scale of this defiance has created moments in which the people themselves have legalised the ANC despite the threatening presence of armed police contingents.

We have referred to only some of the signs which point to the growing people's anger and militancy. The road to people's power requires not only regional responses to unpopular measures but also a united national offensive, involving the mass of the people in town and countryside, uniting all the black oppressed and mobilising the support of all classes and strata who reject the rule of the racist autocracy. The regime's attempt to perpetuate white minority rule by fragmenting our people and our country must be vigorously challenged by the masses and counterposed by the vision of one South Africa — united, democratic and non-racial. And, above all, action by the masses is at all times the essential foundation for the unfolding of protracted people's war which is the only viable strategy for the attainment of people's power in our country.

The development of a broad front of popular resistance has taken a significant step forward with the launching of the national United Democratic Front (UDF) at a mass rally of 15,000 people held in Cape Town in August 1983. Already, the UDF is reported to command the organised support of between 1 and 1½ million people drawn from all walks of life and from all corners of our country. Its creation has laid an effective foundation to defeat the regime's constitutional proposals including the Koornhof Bills.

The UDF has the potential of drawing together the mass struggles raging in the urban centres and the pockets of resistance in the rural areas, particularly in the hated bantustans. The growth of regional branches of the UDF is a sign that the broad popular front is beginning to take on a structured and organised form and its shape and content is beginning to acquire definition. The urgent and fundamental task facing all genuine revolutionaries and patriots is to build upon this achievement and not to allow petty differences to stand in the way of creating the broadest possible democratic opposition and resistance to race rule in all its forms.

We are in a period in which the very foundation of race rule can be made to crumble by a united people's offensive combined with the escalation of armed struggle involving the mass of our people. There are many signs that the objective and subjective conditions which make possible a major revolutionary breakthrough are beginning to mature. On the other hand it is clear that the ruling class is finding it more and more difficult to continue to rule in the old way and, on the other hand, the people are increasingly demonstrating their complete and utter rejection of the rule of race domination in all its forms. The political crisis facing our enemy is intimately related to, and grows out of and interacts with, the severe economic crisis through which South Africa is passing. It is a crisis which contains important political dimensions and one which has strategic significance for the future of our struggle.

The economic recession continues and deepens

South Africa is today in the grip of one of the longest-lasting recessions in its history. Apart from a short period in 1980, when the price of gold reached freak levels, the downward slide has persisted since 1975. Even the most optimistic among the establishment economists are unable to forecast an early major reversal of current trends.

The present 15% rate of inflation is double that of all South Africa's major trading partners. The deficit in the balance of payments reached the R5-billion level in 1982. In the first eight months of 1982 the commercial Rand decreased in value by 22%. An economic growth rate of 8% in 1980 has plunged to 1% in 1982 and a negative growth rate of up to 3% is predicted for 1983.

Bankruptcies are devastating small businesses, 350 of whom collapsed in October 1982 compared to 85 in September 1981. Insolvencies and liquidations of companies are now averaging 200 per month. There is a stagnation and drop in the value of the exports of diamonds, platinum, iron ore, manganese and sugar. Above all, the drop in the price of gold has reduced the dollar value of net gold output by a staggering figure of 45%.

The world capitalist economy, into which South Africa is fully integrated, continues to be in the throes of a major recession which affects every part of the capitalist world. But world factors alone cannot explain the severity of South Africa's crisis. *Many of the economic problems with which it is afflicted are inextricably linked to its character as a capitalist state in which race domination plays the key role in the exploitative processes;* a linkage which has always served foreign and local capital extremely well.

Today, most commentators agree that even if there were to be an upswing in economic activity the absolute shortage of skilled and semi-skilled labour would stand in the way of a major leap forward. The National Manpower Commission reported in 1981 that in the middle of the recession (and despite massive unemployment) labour shortages in the manufacturing industry were responsible for 19% under-utilisation of its productive capacity. There is also a grave shortage of artisans in the building and mining industries. In relation to these economic realities the much-vaunted reforms purporting to create a skilled and semi-skilled work force are pathetic in scope.

It is generally agreed that to maintain a satisfactory growth rate an additional 13,000 skilled workers and 7,500 technicians have to be trained each year and that these can only come from the black population. Yet of 11,967 apprenticeship contracts registered in 1981, only 495 were Africans. By April 1982 there were only 40 indentured African artisans in the whole country. A total of 2,632 Africans were attending technical training courses in 1981, as compared to 47,382 whites. Racial education policy has seen to it that 84% of all blacks have gone no further than primary school level and 30% have had no education at all. The executive chairman of Barlow Rand (the largest of the industrial conglomerates in South Africa) recently stated that in the light of the critical shortage of skilled and semi-skilled workers the call for a non-racial educational system is not a political statement but a *business imperative.*

The very factors which enabled the ruling class to accumulate its massive fortunes (sweated black labour in labour-intensive industries) now act as obstacles on the road of advance into the technological age. *Today, as never before, South Africa's relations of production have become a fetter on the full development of the productive forces. And history has demonstrated that when the relations of production begin to inhibit the potential for economic growth, society stands poised for a radical transformation.* There are forces within the power bloc (to be found mainly among some of the monopoly conglomerates) which see certain aspects of Apartheid as constituting a brake on their objective of restructuring of the economy along more capital-intensive lines. But short of a military coup, they lack an effective mass political constituency within white politics; they are trapped by their own creation, an apartheid-oriented community of whites, the majority of whom have a vested interest in the status quo.

Above all, South Africa's ruling class is faced with a mounting challenge from national and class forces which demand nothing less than the redistribution of the country's wealth and the dismantling of the whole racist framework. The immediacy of this threat to its very existence as a ruling class tends to inhibit even those sectors of big capital whose profit interests could be served by more radical reforms from rocking the Apartheid boat too violently. As witnessed recently, the conflicting economic interests between segments of capital have led to serious splits in the white political arena which have even affected the hitherto most monolithic of Afrikaner institutions — the Broederbond. But, at the end of the day, all groupings (including the PFP — the ideological representatives of Oppenheimer et al) tend to close ranks, ready to man the white laager, in the face of the revolutionary threat. Together with their imperialist allies they see the ANC-headed liberation front as the most serious threat to their survival. The key thrust of Botha's total strategy is concentrated on the attempt to wipe out our presence both inside the country and in the neighbouring states.

It is the mounting revolutionary challenge by the masses, led by our liberation front, which has made, and is continuing to make, such a profound impact on the immediate character of South Africa's deepening economic crisis. *In other words, the choice of economic options for coping with the crisis is restricted by political factors which stem directly or indirectly from the initiatives of the mass revolutionary movement. As these initiatives increase so will the crisis become more profound.*

The growing effectiveness of the people's resistance and the potential which is being demonstrated by the escalating armed actions are beginning to erode the faith of important sectors of international capital in the very future of the racist ruling class. The prestigious organisation Business Environment Risk Information (BERI) in a recent survey advised businessmen to avoid long term investment in South Africa. In terms of political risk BERI assessed South Africa as falling into the "prohibitive" category. The official French Trade Guide has warned French bankers not to invest in South Africa beyond five years when, it believes, there will be "violence and disorder". The Guide goes on to state that "from 1986 onwards there will be major financial losses caused by Pretoria's Apartheid policy".

There are already signs that large financial groups are pulling out some of their capital from South Africa; recently Associated British Foods sold its interests in Premier for R337-million, followed by another massive disinvestment by Jardine Mathieson. This appears to be part of a more general trend which was conceded by Dr Van der Merwe, head of the balance of payments section of the South African Reserve Bank, when he recently stated that "increasing political pressure on foreign companies to limit their investments in South Africa has resulted in a change in investment patterns — short term instead of permanent".

It is also the intensity of the struggle which is panicking the regime into massive expenditure on its armed and security services. In the latest budget so-called defence spending reached an all-time record level of over R3-billion. The war in Namibia and the subsidy required for South Africa to maintain its colonial grip is now just over R2-million per day. The amount set aside by the regime to keep its puppets in power in the Bantustans is over R1,000-million for the financial year 1982-1983. These vast non-productive expenditures to maintain race domination make the fight against inflation a formidable one.

The manufacturing sector is highly developed, concentrating on the production of consumer goods. But again here, it is the political factor which narrows the possibilities of exporting such goods to what should be South Africa's natural trading area — the African continent and particularly its central and southern regions. Botha's "constellation of states" designed to create a structured economic community centred on racist South Africa, has so far floundered and the creation of the SADCC expresses a desire by the participants to loosen and eventually break economic links with the Apartheid economy.

The first response of an embattled capitalist economy is for the bosses to place more and more of the economic burden of a crisis on the shoulders of the working people. In South Africa the attempts which are being made to do so are meeting with greater organised resistance than ever before in our history. Despite record levels of unemployment and continuing retrenchment which normally inhibit trade union growth, the organised strength of the black workers is growing by leaps and bounds and the number of hours lost in strikes continuously rises. It is this strength which limits the space in which the ruling class can maneouvre in its efforts to cope with the crisis. And the organised opposition against anti-people economic measures is expressing itself not only at the point of production but also in the urban ghettos.

Strategic significance of the crisis

In general it is clear that the severity and persistence of South Africa's current economic crisis, and the prospects of emerging from it, are bound up with specific political factors which are unique to our situation. And these specific factors have an important bearing on the class and national struggle perspectives of the coming period.

The process of militarisation and the centralisation of economic political power will be deepened. Already the military establishment has virtually become an arm of government and participates officially at all significant levels of decision-making. Indeed, the role of the military as the central policy-making organ has emerged more clearly with the official disclosure that the State Security Council, under the chairmanship of the Prime Minister, virtually acts as an inner cabinet.

With each passing year wealth is being concentrated into the hands of fewer and fewer monopoly giants; already the state and eight private monopolies control 70% of the assets of the top 138 public companies. This growing centralisation aggravates the secondary contradictions between "big" and "small" capital and leads to more intense in-fighting within the white political front. More and more sections of small business are being ruined whilst, even in the current crisis conditions, the net profit of the top 15 companies rose by R251-million in the 1982 financial year.

Political centralisation, the concentration of authority in even fewer hands, is one of the main ingredients of the new constitution. It will give immense powers to an Executive President who, in practice, will be elected by the National Party caucus in the so-called white chamber of the three-tier Parliament which will represent 27% of South Africa's people. The attempt to buy off the Coloured and Indian communities with representation in their ghetto parliaments is part of an attempt by the ruling class to cope with the crisis and has become one of the key issues on the struggle agenda. *It is the task of our liberation front to ensure that the Coloured and Indian masses refuse to collaborate with the racist scheme; a task which is realistically attainable and whose fulfilment will deal a telling blow to white domination, and throw it into even deeper crisis.*

The current crisis also coincides with the period during which the remaining foreign-ruled states in Southern Africa (with the exception of Namibia) gained their independence. South Africa is now completely surrounded by countries which, in varying degrees, support our liberation struggle. The regime is arming itself to the teeth and regards every inch of its thousands of kilometres of borders as potentially hostile. It is engaged in continuous aggression against its neighbours whose resolve to oppose Apartheid has not been broken. Each blow has led to an increasingly wounding counter-blow by our armed cadres, operating deep inside our country. In financial and manpower terms South Africa's destabilisation strategy is stretching the country's resources dangerously. The recently promulgated new conscription law has aroused bitter opposition from virtually the whole business community who claim that its implementation would reduce even further the already inadequate pool of skilled employees. The business mouthpiece, *Financial Mail*, stated that "the new call-up system is going to affect the vast majority of white men in South Africa and will certainly affect every business enterprise".

South Africa's dependence on foreign capital opens up immense possibilities for weakening its capacity to cope with the present crisis. We have referred to some of the nervous responses already shown by international capital. But increasing political upheavals, the unfolding of People's War and the stepping up of military blows such as Sasol, Koeberg, Voortrekkerhoogte, and the attack on the Air Force and Intelligence Headquarters (including selective action against multi-national presence in the Apartheid economy) will further erode the confidence of foreign capital in the economic future of the racist system. Externally the possibilities for increasing South Africa's isolation from the world community are growing. Imperialist policy always reflects the interest of capital and capital's increasing nervousness about the security of its investments will make some of the Western governments more amenable to pressures from the solidarity movements in these countries. But it remains true that South Africa's role as the key citadel of imperialism in Africa has been supported and encouraged as never before by the Reagan-led imperialist camp.

We have so far touched upon some of the general tendencies which are inherent in the current economic and political crisis. *But whether these tendencies become translated into realities will depend on the extent to which we succeed in raising the mass political and armed struggle to even higher levels. The conditions of doing so are undoubtedly present and will continue to spread.* The absolute and relative deterioration of the living conditions of the black majority in both town and countryside, the growing unemployment, the ghastly nightmare which faces the millions who have been exiled to the Bantustans and the inevitable attempts to shift more and more of the burden of the crisis on to black shoulders, will continue to fuel the anger and hatred of the people against racism. The plight facing our people, and especially the black working population, cries out for a transformation of this anger into even more effective organised militancy (both political and military) which will relentlessly confront and weaken our crisis-ridden enemy.

The plight of the workers

The greatest burden of capitalist crisis always rests on the shoulders of the working class, but in South Africa it is above all the black workers who take the brunt.

Despite fraudulent claims to the contrary the economic conditions of African workers have steadily worsened. The regime's most recent figures which claim a rise in African wages, conveniently exclude the two largest categories, 1.5-million agricultural and 750,000 domestic workers. The true position is that from the year in which the current recession began (1975) the real earnings of Africans have taken a plunge. According to the Bureau of Market Research of Unisa, Africans in the Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vereeniging complex earned less in 1980 than in 1975. In 1981 (according to Professor Keenan of Wits University) the real income of Africans decreased by a further 1%. Another study has shown that the incomes of African households have declined by 12.4% from 1976 to 1980.

The level of unemployment has reached horrendous proportions. The figure has already hit the three million mark of which more than 50% are African men under the age of 30.

We know what happens to an African who is unemployed in South Africa. It means more than just a loss of income and consequent economic deprivation; it so often also means jail, deportation to the starving rural backwaters and the complete destruction of family life.

The Riekert Commission report which was hailed by the regime's publicists as a document which would lead to an easing of influx control, has in fact been followed by an intensification of pass law persecutions. More than 200,000 were arrested for pass law offences in 1982, an increase of 20% over the previous year. The recent Rikhoto case exposed the fact that the regime was even going beyond its own racist laws and has been illegally deporting people who had acquired Section 10 rights to remain in an urban area. When the courts interfered with those illegalities the racist response once again reaffirmed their complete disregard and contempt for African family life; the wives and children of African workers such as Rikhoto will (according to Koornhoof the "verligte") not be allowed the same "privilege". And there is still worse to come.

The threat of the Orderly Movement and Settlement of Black Persons Bill (the very name conjures up the image of the herding of animals) continues to hover over the heads of all urban Africans. It aims to deprive even larger numbers of permanent urban rights and to push more of them into homelands.

The reaction of the black working class to the assault on its living and working conditions and to the tightening grip of repression is the key to the future of our revolution. And their political responses in the recent period hold out great possibilities of raising the level of political consciousness and of organised resistance from the working people.

Despite the existence of conditions which normally inhibit trade union growth (recession and rising unemployment) the last few years have seen a most dramatic increase in African union membership. The potential for creating a united revolutionary trade union movement which can become a mighty instrument of struggle is greater today than ever before in our history. We will refer later to our Party's approach to some of the problems which still have to be overcome in order to ensure that this potential is fulfilled.

It is however clear that trade union strength and trade union consciousness on their own are not enough; the working class has to be moulded into a politically conscious fighting force which, in alliance with those classes (more especially the rural poor) who share its immediate aims, will sweep away the whole racist structure. *We must ensure that the level of the workers' struggle is raised above the mere fight to defend and advance their economic conditions within the framework of South Africa's system of capitalist exploitation.*

It is our prime task to mobilise the working class as the leading force in the struggle against the tyranny of racist autocracy and for people's power. And this struggle cannot be fought only in the urban centres. Our proletariat is not only to be found in the cities; many millions are to be found on the white farms and in the Bantustans. The overwhelming majority of Africans on the land are not peasants; they are made up of agricultural labourers, unemployed workers who have been exiled from the cities, and those who have spent a lifetime as migrants between countryside and town.

The bulk of the rural masses have been exposed to wage labour and have had varying degrees of contact with urban culture. These factors make possible a uniquely close relationship between urban and rural struggles and can facilitate the spread of proletarian ideology and organisation in the countryside. In the present economic crisis (made even more disastrous by the drought) these proletarians and semi-proletarians share conditions with the rest of the rural poor which threaten their very lives and those of their dependants.

The nightmare of the Bantustans

54% of the African population (close to 11-million) now live in the

Bantustans, a population that has grown by 69% between 1970 and 1980. The overwhelming majority of these people face an indefinite future of degradation and absolute starvation. *Of all sections of our people these multitudes have indeed nothing to lose but their chains.*

According to the Bureau for Economic Research (Benso) over 5.2-million of the 6.2-million living in the non-'independent' Bantustans had no measurable income during 1980. And in the same year only one million of the 4.6-million living in the 'independent' Bantustans could be classified as economically active. Despite a population increase in the Bantustans of over 7-million since 1960, a grand total of 75,000 jobs have been created there in the same period. According to economists, one third of the Bantustan population lives in resettlement camps in which conditions are such that one in every four babies born in them dies during its first year of life.

The brutal distortion of normal family life is exposed by some of the population figures. In the Bantustans adult women outnumber men by three to one. Close to 50% of the population is under 15 years of age and about 60% are under 20. This spells out families without men, wives without husbands, children without fathers! This is the kind of ethnic "nation" which the racists have conjured up — a wasteland of fragmented families for the breeding of migrant and commuter labour for the "national homeland" of the five million white group which owns 87% of the land and virtually all its riches.

The figure for the migrants and commuters from the Bantustans in 1981 was 2,074,000. It is becoming more and more clear that the Bantustan administrations were set up to carry out the functions of a glorified WENELA recruiting structure. The boss-boys of the Bantustans (such as Matanzima) never cease to boast about how much labour they have managed to export to their masters in white South Africa. But even their efforts do not seem to be enough. Initially all the labour recruiting was handled by the Bantustan administrations. However, recent reports indicate that their bureaucratic structures seem to be disintegrating and the regime is once again beginning to play a more direct role in the recruitment of labour through its regional Administration Boards. In 1981 these boards between them "requisitioned" 1,396,944 workers from the Bantustans. The word "requisitioned" was used by Koornhof in a Parliamentary answer and it aptly describes the handling of humans as pure objects of commerce.

The build-up of population in the former reserves (which everyone agrees cannot possibly sustain the lives of their inhabitants) is the end of a process which in itself constitutes one of Apartheid's most cruel crimes. Conservative estimates are that between 1960 and 1980 a minimum of three million people have been forcibly uprooted from their homes and dumped in barren veld. And this process is still under way.

The economic plight facing the overwhelming majority of the people in the Bantustans cries out for organised resistance, a task which demands priority treatment by our whole liberation alliance. The potential for mobilising the people and gaining their support in a growing revolutionary war against the racist regime and its local puppets, is enormous.There can be no doubt that the conditions in the countryside are transforming it into a tinder-box of anger, frustration and discontent; passions which can and must be channeled into a mighty river of resistance.

Apartheid's search for allies — the black middle class

Every sector of the racist social and economic structure is heavily dependent upon black participation. Even the direct instruments of national repression — the army and police — are forced increasingly to rely on black recruits for much of their dirty work. With the passing of each year this dependence becomes greater and, according to demographers, the beginning of the next century will see a South Africa of approximately 50 million people of whom 44-million will be black.

It is clear that the survival of white domination increasingly requires the "consent" and collaboration of strata from the dominated majority who will help to ensure their own people's subjugation. A great part of ruling class political strategy is therefore directed towards a search for such collaboration. In an attempt to pursue this strategy the regime is, generally speaking, concentrating its attention on three main categories:

(a) The emerging administrative and business strata in the Bantustans;
(b) The black middle strata outside the Bantustans, and
(c) The upper layers of the Coloured and Indian communities who may be tempted to participate in the new constitutional proposals for their own individual gain.

Although all three categories of the middle strata share an economic status which is considerably above that of the mass of the people, they also each have distinct characteristics which have an important bearing on their likely responses to the unfolding revolutionary struggle.

The middle strata in the Bantustans

By far the biggest category of the middle strata in the Bantustans is the growing political and administrative elite. Already by 1979 the number of permanent posts on fixed establishments in seven of the Bantustans (excluding Transkei, Bophuthatswana and KwaNdebele) was 27,625. Membership of legislative bodies (close to 800 MPs) and ministerial posts attracts relatively large salaries and allowances. In Venda, for example, one of the poorest of all the Bantustans Mphephu receives an annual salary of R48,700 (plus allowances), an amount which is only R3,752 less than the salary of P.W. Botha. Apart from direct earnings (almost completely subsidised by grants from Pretoria) political office becomes the launching pad for acquiring land and business interests. The accumulation of such wealth by the Matanzima brothers in the Transkei is well-known and recently in Venda, cabinet ministers and government officials were accused of "lining their pockets" with profits from Venda's casino.

The most important characteristic of this administrative stratum is that it was the creation of the Apartheid regime and is completely dependent upon its favours. The very existence of this group depends on the existence of the Bantustan "state" itself. Its function has been aptly described as one of managing the affairs of South African capital, more especially the smooth flow of the cheapest possible migrant and commuter labour.

It follows that the class interests of the higher echelons of the Bantustan Administrators are completely subservient to those of the ruling class in "white" South Africa. As a group they will obviously be tempted to do everything possible to undermine African unity, to defend the monstrous creations of Apartheid and to line up with the enemy in its struggle against the liberation alliance. The Sebes of the Ciskei do not come second to their bosses in Pretoria when it comes to vicious anti-communism, persecution of the trade union movement and torture and killing of liberation fighters.

There can be no compromise with these defenders of Apartheid who have traded in their people's birthright for a mess of pottage. *The so-called Bantustan states must be completely destroyed and their administrations overthrown as part of the struggle for the total liberation of every inch of our people's soil.* In the fight against the puppet administrations and their racist masters some categories which are traditionally grouped as part of the middle strata can be mobilised on to the side of the people, especially those which have not been directly incorporated into the Bantustan's governing apparatus and whose future is therefore not inextricably bound up with the survival of the Bantustan itself. This applies to small traders as well as professional groups and teachers. The latter began to play a significant opposition role to Matanzima in the middle Seventies which led to legislation debarring all public employees from participating in party politics and from belonging to political organisations.

The African middle strata outside the Bantustans

The mobilisation of the broadest possible contingent of black social forces against racist rule continues to be a revolutionary imperative in our country. And the black middle strata outside the Bantustans are an important sector of that contingent. At the same time the regime's intentions are clear: to create a larger African middle class which will be tempted to defend the status quo through the lure of economic concessions.

Despite enemy manoeuvres it continues to remain true that the fate of the majority of the black middle strata is more closely connected to the black workers than to their white counterparts and that the destruction of the system of national domination is in their interests. We have always stressed that South African racism is indivisible and that for it to continue operating it must sooner or later show its face to every class which makes up the dominated community. As our Central Committee stated in its 1980 statment (Forward to People's Power):

> "In general it is clear that the ranks of white property owners, businessmen, finance etc etc are not being opened to blacks. It is also clear that whatever concessions are made to the other sections of the black petit bourgeoisie,they will not, in many important respects, be allowed to join the ranks of their white counterparts. All that is happening is that, within the framework of continued national domination over all classes and groups which constitute the black community, some sections of the black middle strata will be allowed a little more scope for development; but always along their own lines. In their personal lives they will continue to face most of the humiliation of inferior status, politically, socially and culturally".

Those amongst the black professionals who are involved in management occupy its lowest rungs and it is illegal for a black manager to have a white subordinate. According to the *Sunday Tribune* (5.9.82) African managers constitute less than 0.2% of the country's managerial complement.

In the public sector African doctors, school principals and accounts clerks earn less than their white counterparts, doing exactly the same job.

South Africa's land policies go to the very root of the Apartheid structure and all "concessions" to African business and trading interests are premised on the monopoly by whites over 87% of the land area. The Group Areas Act allows Africans to trade in only 13% of the land area and, even then, it is white capital which dominates.

It is impossible for African enterpreneurs to expand into farming outside the 13% tribal areas in which, in any case, the system of land tenure acts as an obstacle.

The much-publicised scheme to allow home ownership by Africans in urban areas has so far involved only a small handful of Africans. By March

1981 a total of 1,881 99-year leases had been registered.

In a police force which is mainly black there is a total of 75 African commissioned officers, earning less than their white counterparts and with no power over white subordinates.

In almost every area of African middle class advancement the pattern is broadly the same; a small group is allowed to decorate the fringes of the white preserves but it is totally barred from crossing into them. The black middle class (and the fact that we can even describe a class by its colour tells its own story) is not only a class entity, it also forms part of the larger entity of those who are victims of national oppression. The members of the African middle strata gain economically from some of the reforms but the houses they occupy remain in the ghettoes, their right and the right of their children to freedom of movement is subject to the same influx control legislation as the workers, and they remain foreigners in their own country without any political rights except perhaps in their ethnic wasteland.

It is clear therefore, that the black middle class is, by its very nature, subjected to two contradictory pressures. On the one hand immediate economic "improvement" could tempt some of its members to play a collaborative role; on the other hand the national restrictions and humiliations from which it continues to suffer and which will frustrate its fuller economic growth, will make it receptive to many of the immediate aims of the liberation alliance.

Our appeal to the black middle strata to throw in their lot with the working people in the national democratic revolution is not based merely on the rhetoric of national oppression; it has an objective basis in the kind of society which will follow the people's victory. In such a society (in which the working class will be the dominant force) the black middle strata will, in every respect, be better off than they are within the framework of white baasskap.

The middle strata by their very nature do not always play a consistent role in a struggle and, especially in one with a national context, tend to shy away from revolutionary radicalism in favour of old-style bourgeois nationalism. But although we are always called upon to guard against the spread of petit-bourgeois ideology within the liberation alliance, the winning over to our side of larger and larger groups from amongst the middle strata remains a revolutionary necessity.

The Coloured and Indian middle strata — a new offensive

The Coloured and Indian upper and middle strata have never been exempt from the restrictions of racist oppression. But despite the fact that they have been relatively better off than their African counterparts, a great deal of progress was achieved by the liberation movement in the direction of all-black unity.

In the 40's and 50's the Indian Congress movement (radicalised and led by revolutionaries such as our late Chairman, Yusuf Dadoo), even won the adherence of a large section of the Indian commercial bourgeoisie for a policy of growing unity in action with the other national movements, more especially the African National Congress. And this tradition continues to express itself in the current revival of Indian congress organisations in Natal and the Transvaal.

The tradition of solidarity with the immediate objectives of the liberation alliance was, until recently, honoured by the predominantly middle class leadership of the Labour Party which won all-round admiration for its uncompromising stand against the Coloured Representative Council whose dissolution was finally forced on the regime.

It is, however, already becoming clear that groups from among the Coloured and Indian upper and middle strata are seeking a closer accommodation with racism at the expense of their African brothers and the majority of their own people. The proposed new constitutional arrangement which creates ghetto parliaments (perpetually dominated by the white 'majority') and which gives a select group the chance to occupy high political office, has already tempted a few from among the Coloured and Indian upper crust. The last conference of the Labour Party was hijacked by these elements in favour of a policy of collaboration with the latest scheme to perpetuate white domination. And the sell-out elements amongst the Indian upper and middle classes are manoeuvering to gain the support of the Indian community for participating in the three-tier scheme.

There can be no compromise with these Matanzimas and Sebes among the Coloured and Indian communities. Like their Bantustan counterparts, they are trying to sell their people's birthright for the "privilege" of participating in the perpetual domination and humiliation of their own communities. They stand squarely in the enemy camp and everything possible must be done to expose and to isolate them. The overhwelming spirit of rejection of these collaborationist manoeuvres which has already been demonstrated by the Coloured and Indian masses must be maintained and reinforced. The struggle against the Bantustans and the new constitutional proposals is indivisible. We emphasise again that this latest scheme of the white racists can and must be defeated. A people's victory over the collaborators will create a political crisis of enormous dimension for the ruling class and will constitute a most important step in the struggle for people's power.

The trade union front

The concessions to the African workers in the 1981 Labour Relations Act were won on the ground and not in Parliament. Long before the removal of the colour-bar clauses of the Industrial Conciliation Act, the right to trade union organisation and the right to strike were proclaimed by our working class in the actual arena of struggle, on the factory floor.

The ten years which preceded the Labour Relations Act saw the most persistent strike movement in our history and the mushrooming of trade union organisation. More and more employers, under pressure from their workers, broke ranks and began to recognise and negotiate with the emerging African unions. The laws prohibiting strikes by African workers had little effect on their resolve to engage in industrial action when the situation demanded it.

The ruling class, realising that the building of black trade unions could no longer be stopped, was forced to give them some form of legal recognition in the hope that they could thereby be better controlled and, more especially, prevented from playing a political role on the side of the liberation movement. The legislation was accompanied by an intensified offensive against striking workers and progressive trade unionists. Of the 768 people detained in 1980 only 21 were trade unionists and workers, whereas in 1981, 300 of the 772 detainees fell into this cateogry. And in the same year police were called 191 times to the scene of work stoppages.

The Labour Relations Act has not discouraged the black workers from engaging in organised strike action. They have ignored the procedures which have to be complied with before a strike is considered "legal". In 1982 there were 394 strikes involving 141,000 workers, an all-time record. And every one of these strikes was illegal. Depite the vicious persecution of trade unionists (with the Ciskei being particularly brutal), black trade union membership has already reached 750,000. Significantly, quite a number of disputes with employers have attracted regional and national solidarity actions by the community as a whole (e.g. Red Meat strike, Wilson-Rowntree, Fattis and Monis). There was an impressive response to the trade union call for a national protest against the murder of Neil Aggett. We have also seen a number of examples of direct trade union involvement (in alliance with community organisations) in struggles against rent and bus fare increases, and in protest against Koornhof's genocide bill.

An immense social force is being built; a force whose collective strength constitutes one of the key factors in our revolution. The need to provide effective political leadership to the rapidly growing black trade union movement is a task which stands second to none. If we fail in this task we will not only emasculate the forces on the side of our struggle, but we will also expose the trade union movement to reformist ideological and collaborationist tendencies.

A number of important policy questions are currently being debated in the trade union movement. Recently our Political Bureau convened an enlarged session at which these questions were discussed. Decisions were also taken on the practical steps needed to reinforce and improve work on the trade union front.

Trade union centres and the quest for unity

There are four national trade union centres in existence. The Trade Union Council of South Africa (Tucsa) has 57 affiliated unions with a membership of 430,675. The South African Confederation of Labour has 13 unions with a membership of 126,514. The Federation of South African Trade Unions (Fosatu) has ten affiliated trade unions with a membership of 105,690 and the Council of Unions of South Africa (Cusa) has eleven affiliated unions with a membership which has recently risen to 100,000.

Tusca and SACL are completely dominated by a white leadership and, for reasons which will be elaborated below, have no immediate place in the process which is under way to attempt to create one national democratic trade union centre. The main participants in this process have been the two national federations of Cusa and Fosatu, and a number of individual industrial and general workers' unions, including Food and Canning, African Food and Canning, Commercial Catering and Allied Workers' Union, South African Allied Workers' Union, General and Allied Workers' Union and the Cape Municipal Workers' Association. It is this latter grouping, representing over 300,000 workers, which is participating in a "feasibility committee" to investigate the establishment of a united trade union federation. This latest move was initiated at the April 1983 Cape Town unity conference (the third such conference in recent years) and is to be welcomed by all who wish to see the emergence of a strong, healthy, democratic and independent trade union movement in South Africa.

The formation of one national trade union federation is a process which requires patient fraternal negotiations and dialogue between the existing democratic trade union centres and progressive unions. To help pave the way for unity it is also necessary that all opportunities should be sought for joint campaigning between the existing bodies on burning issues affecting the workers such as retrenchment, unemployment, mass removals, the President's Council, the Genocide Bill etc. This unity in action (well illustrated in the Neil Aggett protests) will generate the kind of atmosphere which will improve the prospects of achieving organisational unity.

One of the obvious obstacles in the way of creating one national body is the proliferation of quite a few general workers' unions, some of which are participants in the unity moves. We have always believed that, in the long run, the most effective form of trade union organisation is one union for one industry. It is our view that the general workers' union should be encouraged to separate out into industrially-based groupings. But an immediate commitment to do so ought not to be made a precondition for national organisational unity. Until the general workers' unions have transformed themselves, other fraternal ways must be found to eliminate the competitive tendencies between the general workers' unions and the industrial unions organising the same factories.

Unity and problems of registration

Another bone of contention between the emerging democratic trade unions is whether trade unions should register under the Labour Relations Act. As the law stands at the moment there is virtually no substantial difference between the statusof registered and unregistered unions and the provisions of the Act which deal with government interference in the internal affairs of unions apply with equal force to the registered and unregistered.

Apart from acquiring a more "respectable" image in the eyes of some employers (which would perhaps influence their approach in the collective bargaining process) there is no advantage to be gained by the workers if their union becomes registered. The fact that an unregistered union cannot become part of the industrial council system is a gain rather than a loss since this system is designed to undermine workers' militancy and is in any case completely dominated by the white trade union movement. In the circumstances, it is our view that trade unions should not apply for registration.

At the same time we consider that this issue should not be elevated to the level of fundamental principle. The different approaches to the question should not be allowed to become an obstacle to trade union unity. At the end of 1981 there were 23 African unions registered with a total membership of 259,582. In addition, 326,794 Coloured and Indian workers are members of registered trade unions. Thus close to 600,000 black workers fall into this category, exceeding the number of whites in registered trade unions by over 100,000. It is clear that this vast contingent of black organised labour should not be excluded from the unity process merely because their unions have chosen registration.

Non-racial unions

In contrast to the plight of the black workers, the white wage-earner continues to be racially cushioned against the worst effects of the recession. There is hardly any white unemployment and the white workers continue to draw economic benefit from their privileged status. The 1981 figures of the National Manpower Commission show that the absolute difference between the earning of whites and other population groups has grown larger.

At the political level this reflects itself in the continuing reactionary alignments of the majority of white workers. The constituencies which have a big proportion of white wage-earners continue to return the most racist of candidates. Strike actions and industrial confrontations are things of the past; it is the wielding of political clout by the white workers which plays such a big role in protecting and advancing their privileged status, often at the expenseof their black counterparts. Whereas in 1982 the black workers had to defend themselves against an assault on their living conditions by engaging in an all-time record number of strikes, the white workers succeeded in increasing the earnings gap between themselves and the other population groups without a single strike! Indeed, the only serious threat of strike action by white workers came when the mine owners once again moved to desegregate certain job categories.

In the light of the existing class attitudes of the white labour aristocracy and the negative role in the political struggle by most of their trade unions, black workers should exercise extreme caution before they agree to become members of entrenched white organisations which will continue to dominate them under the guise of a new non-racial image. In principle our Party has always favoured and worked for the creation of a completely non-racial and democratic trade union movement. But the incorporation of blacks into existing white dominated trade unions will not necessarily be a step in this direction and could result in continued minority control. We therefore believe that the main task of the black workers in the present situation is to organise themselves into strong, viable industrial unions in order to ensure that the principle of democratic majority leadership will apply in the non-racial unions which will emerge.

Trade Union Council of South Africa (TUCSA)

When Neil Aggett was murdered Tucsa declared its opposition to the nationwide workers' protest. More recently its president, Anna Scheepers, appealed to the police to be more active in the prosecution of African strikers. These are just a few examples which demonstrate that the leadership of Tucsa has learnt nothing from the new workers' forces that are emerging and continues to maintain its reactionary and baasskap position in the trade union movement.

It is ironic that Scheepers talks on behalf of an organisation the majority of whose affiliates are now black. Of Tucsa's total membership of 430,673 only 101,145 are white. The balance is made up of 226,860 Coloured and Indian, and 102,670 Africans. This large and important sector of organised labour must be weaned away from Tucsa's reactionary leadership. All efforts should be made to isolate those black trade union bureaucrats who have been placed into their positions by patronage of racist trade union leaders and who therefore continue to cling desperately to their coat-tails. Everything possible must be done to ensure that the 320,000 black workers in Tucsa become an integral part of the quest for genuine trade union unity.

The role of SACTU

There is no organisation in the trade union field which can measure up to the historic role played by Sactu in its stand against racism in the trade union movement and its contribution to the organisation of workers into democratic industrial unions. In addition, Sactu's commitment to the general struggle against racist exploitation and oppression and its full integration as a constituent of the Congress Alliance have played an important part in the struggle to mobilise the working class against the racist regime and to bring the day of our people's victory nearer. Many old Sactu stalwarts are continuing to play an important role in the current upsurge of trade union organisation, and many other trade union militants find their inspiration in the tradition of revolutionary trade unionism which Sactu has done so much to spread among our working people.

Because of Sactu's record as a militant revolutionary trade union centre and its open adherence to the Congress Alliance, it is for all practical purposes treated by the regime as an illegal conspiracy. It is therefore clear that in present conditions Sactu can no longer operate in the old way; more especially it cannot realistically advance the aim of winning the immediate formal affiliation of the emerging trade unions. In other words, in the quest for the creation of a new united trade union centre, Sactu does not compete with the existing organs.

At the same time Sactu has a vital role to play in ensuring that the principles upon which it was founded continue to inspire and give direction to the growing forces of trade unionism within the country. It is for this reason that Sactu can continue to claim to be a legitimate spokesman of genuine trade union aspirations of the South African workers.

It is clearly more vital than ever for Sactu to carry out its historic role to influence the trade union movement to move in a radical and democratic direction and to ensure that the united trade union centre which is being striven for, will be built in the image of Sactu. To carry out this task it is necessary that Sactu should strengthen itself organisationally. In collaboration with all the constituents of the Congress Alliance it is called upon to intensify propaganda with an emphasis on the main content of revolutionary trade unionism. The unorganised must be organised. The vast army of unemployed workers both in the towns and in the countryside must be mobilised to express their protest and anger about their plight and the plight of their families. The negative features in the Labour Relations Act must be exposed and a cry must go out from the organised trade union movement to demand their repeal.

Our Party has a long and proud record in the field of trade union organisation. It can truly be said that the South African Communist Party is the father of black industrial unions in our country. The period of the 30s, 40s and 50s bristles with the names of outstanding communist trade unionists who devoted themselves to trade union building. Johannes Nkosi, Bill Andrews, George Poonen, Steve Dlamini, J.B. Marks, Ray Alexander; these communist trade union giants and scores of other communists have forged an unbreakable link between the Party and the trade union movement. As activists in the various progressive trade union federations which emerged from the 30s onwards, communists laid the very foundations of militant revolutionary trade unionism.

Against the background of this great tradition our Party is called upon to do everything possible to strengthen the mass organisations of our working people. The advance of revolutionary trade unionism is not just the preserve of the trade union movement; it is the concern of the whole liberation alliance and of our Party as the vanguard of our working class. We dare not fail in this task.

In its assault on the liberation movement the enemy has selected the South African Communist Party as one of its most important targets. Not a day passes without an attempt by the enemy to smear the name of our Party, to spread the slander that it controls and manipulates the African National Congress, to accuse communists of being "mere appendages of Moscow" and to distort the role of non-African communists. In addition racist South Africa has become one of imperialisms' most vociferous pureyors of anti-Sovietism in the world.

Why do they hate and fear us so much? It is because, in the first place, our Party is an historically vital component of the revolutionary alliance for national liberation headed by the ANC. Our Party has won a place in this alliance precisely because it has always respected the integrity and independence of the national movement. The enemy and its allies are fully aware that our Party constitutes a powerful organisational and ideological force against the kind of "national liberation" which will allow a few black exploiters to join the boardrooms of the white ruling class. As the struggle intensifies so will the enemy's efforts to find solutions which will prevent the destruction of the capitalist system of exploitation which, in South Africa, is the very foundation of racism. They want to destroy our Party because it stands in the front rank of those who will never accept such a "solution".

They fear us too because they know that we are part of the great international working class movement and that we support and defend the achievements of workers and peasants who have taken power in their own lands and who are continuously threatened by imperialism. We have never hidden our admiration for the great October Socialist Revolution which created the Soviet State. This state has not only become the main citadel of the expansion of the socialist world system, but it has also been one of the vital factors in the massive decolonisation process which gained momentum in the period since the end of the Second World War. Anti-Sovietism is one of reaction's key instruments and the need to counter it is today rather greater than ever before.

Communists believe that there is no conflict between proletarian internationalism and revolutionary patriotism. Throughout our history we have never deviated from the historic interests of our own working people. It is precisely because of our internationalist outlook that we are regarded as the chief enemy of narrow and backward nationalism and racism.

They hate us also because we are the pioneers of non-racism in South Africa. It is a matter of pride that our Party has always had within its ranks members and leaders from all national groups. Those from the minority groups who have made common cause with the struggle for liberation and socialism and who are among the Party's leaders have won their positions through an unflinching commitment to the revolutionary cause and through a readiness, if necessary, to die for it. The racists live in a world in which every level of social intercourse implies the domination and "superiority" of whites. It is part of their racist sickness that they cannot understand the possibility of black and white working together in complete equality and without the arrogance of baasskap. The very history of our Party is a glowing example of this higher proletarian ethic which we will never abandon.

We must answer the enemy's offensive against our Party by devoting even greater efforts to strengthen it organisationally and to reinforce its role not only as a constituent part of the liberation alliance but also as the independent political vanguard of our proletariat.

The task of spreading the liberating ideas of Marxism-Leninism, especially amongst the workers and the youth, has assumed greater urgency than ever before.

The ranks of our underground must be strengthened through the recruitment of advanced activists especially from among the proletariat.

Imbued with proletarian internationalism, we must continuously sharpen our ideological weapons to combat backward nationalism and chauvinism in all its forms and spread an understanding of the connection between racial oppression and capitalist exploitation.

The perspective of a future socialist society in South Africa must be spread with greater vigour.

As a Party we must provide effective political leadership to the working class and ensure that its mass organisations do not become instruments of reformist collaborators.

The struggle for world peace and against the regime's continued aggression against the neighbouring states demands urgent attention.

Above all, as an integral part of our liberation alliance headed by the African National Congress, we face the immediate challenge of leading the masses in all-round assaults on the racist autocracy and for the winning of people's power. Victory will be ours through a combination of massive united political action and military confrontation which increasingly involves the mass of our people.

Racism must be destroyed!

Racism can be destroyed!

People's power will be won through people's unity and people's war!

Forward to a free socialist South Africa!

THE MOST PRESSING DUTY BEFORE ALL HUMANKIND IS TO AVERT THE DANGER OF A NUCLEAR HOLOCAUST

International Resolution Adopted by the Central Committee of the South African Communist Party, September 1983

Today, when the capitalist system as a whole is in deep crisis, the bourgeoisie grows more and more desperate as the demand for social progress intensifies. Everywhere the imperialists oppose revolution with counter-revolution, physically intervening on the side of the reactionary classes throughout the world, on the grounds that their "vital interests" are threatened by "Soviet imperialism". In pursuit of their criminal aims they have resorted to a policy of nuclear brinkmanship.

The most pressing duty before all humankind today is to avert the danger of a nuclear holocaust. Whatever the differences between classes and countries, resort to nuclear warfare cannot solve them but only lead to the destruction of civilisation as we know it and the possible extinction of the human race. The fight for peace and life must be a top priority for Communists and progressives everywhere, for no social advance is possible if human society — indeed life itself — ceases to exist.

The Reagan Administration in the United States, which represents the most bellicose section of US monopoly capital, pursues a policy of confrontation against the forces of national liberation, peace, freedom and socialism. Throughout the world it supports with arms and money the forces of reaction. Whilst hundreds of millions of people suffer from the scourge of hunger, poverty, disease and malnutrition, imperialism is escalating the arms race, including in the nuclear field. Instead of seeking solutions to some of these vital global problems, US imperialism has increased international tension to dangerous levels by its threat to resort to nuclear war. This threat has become a reality due to the insane belief of the military-industrial complex, which greatly influences the policies of the US administration, that such a war is not only possible but also winnable.

Under conditions of detente in the political and military spheres, peaceful co-existence between the two different social systems, and a reduction in the arms race, in particular nuclear arms, it is possible to ensure the most basic necessities of life to people throughout the world.

It is of primary significance that, whereas the Soviet Union has given the unilateral and categorical assurance that it will never be the first to resort to nuclear warfare, the United States and its allies have consistently refused to make a similar declaration. The imperialist powers reserve their right to launch a first strike. The weapons they are installing in Europe today — the Pershing and Cruise missiles — are first-strike weapons. The policies they are following are the policies of reckless aggression and sabre-rattling which can easily spill over into suicidal conflict.

Over the past few years the Soviet Union and its allies have offered more than 100 proposals designed to reduce international tension, curb the arms race and avert the threat of a nuclear catastrophe. Recently the Soviet Union formally proposed a treaty banning the testing and deployment of weapons in outer space. The proposals for peace and detente which are continually advanced by the Warsaw Pact are either ignored or treated with derision as if they were not genuine.

The reckless policies of the Reagan Administration must be strenuously opposed by the peoples of the world if the real danger of nuclear war is to be averted. The campaign for the limitation of nuclear weapons, for real steps towards disarmament, for detente and peaceful co-existence must be stepped up to the point where it becomes irresistible. The peoples of the world must demand from Nato a real response to the peace initiatives launched by the Warsaw Pact powers which, if implemented in good faith, would reduce world tension and promote the cause of international security.

The United States must be compelled to ratify the SALT 2 treaty, undertake, like the Soviet Union, never to be the first to use nuclear weapons, and accept the offer of the Warsaw Treaty states issued in the Prague Declaration of January 5, 1983, "to conclude a treaty of mutual renunciation of the use of military force and on the maintenance of peaceful relations". This would pave the way for further measures of disarmament and the ultimate disbandment of both alliances as indicated in the Prague Declaration.

The Reagan Administration which heads the imperialist coalition makes no secret of the fact that it is determined to prevent social change which may lead any country to abandon capitalism and choose the socialist road of advance. Not only does it oppose the socialist countries themselves in everything they do, but it also labels freedom fighters everywhere communists or "agents of Moscow". The United States and its allies are to be found everywhere propping up right-wing and reactionary regimes committed to maintain the status quo.

We live in the era of change world-wide from the capitalist to the socialist way of life. Capitalism and imperialism have exhausted their potential of bringing the benefits of scientific and technological advance to the majority of the world's people. The gap between the haves and the have-nots is growing wider. Fired by the profit motive the ruling class of the devloped capitalist countries directs its enormous energies and ingenuity to devising ever more fearsome weapons of destruction in order to protect its way of life from the challenge of the deprived and under-privileged majority. And this deprived and under-privileged majority is to be found not only in the ranks of the exploited toilers of the so-called "third world". There are today between 11 and 13 million unemployed in the world's richest country,the United States; over 30 million are unemployed in the capitalist countries of Europe. Nevertheless, it remains true that the worst poverty is to be found in the under-developed countries. Today over 1,000 million are starving and 30 to 40 million annually die of hunger in the developing countries whose wealth is looted by the transnational corporations of the western world. About 25% of the people of the developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America are malnourished, compared with 3% in the industrialised capitalist states. In Africa as a whole most countries have seen no growth at all in their economies over the past decades. Indeed, Africa is the only continent in the world where per capita food production has declined steadily. Throughout the developing world the living standards and hopes of the people are crushed by the increasing burdens imposed by the exploitation of their natural resources and labour power by imperialism and its transnational corporations, massive indebtedness and the unequal economic relations between them and the most developed capitalist countries.

The crises of "over production" which regularly rack the capitalist world and which lead to the destruction of thousands of tons of foodstuffs while the people are hungry, are inherent in the capitalist system. Only under socialism is it possible to strike a balance between production and distribution, due to the elimination of the private ownership of the means of production and the exploitation of man by man. It is only in the countries of the socialist community that slums, poverty, hunger and illiteracy have been eradicated, thus meeting the basic needs of its people and laying the foundations for a steady improvement in their living and working conditions.

The impressive achievements of the socialist countries have not gone unnoticed by the rest of the world. More and more countries and peoples are rejecting capitalism, imperialism and neo-colonialism and turning towards socialism as the only way out of the crisis in which they find themselves. National liberation movements acknowledge the socialist countries as their natural allies. But what has been the reaction of the United States and the other western nations? From the 1917 revolution onwards the Soviet Union, the world's first socialist country, has been faced with invasion, war and the threat of war by imperialism determined to "strangle the Bolshevik baby in its cradle".

In the interests of peace and social progress, all manifestations of rabid anti-Sovietism and anti-communism must be vigorously combated. It is our duty to explain that there is no such thing as "Soviet imperialism". Unlike the imperialists, the Soviet Union has no shares in the companies which own the land and exploit the human and material resouces of other countries. The alleged fear of Soviet aggression against Europe and America is groundless. It is the Reagan Administration which threatens to annihilate the Soviet Union in a planned five-minute nuclear first strike because it thinks, incorrectly, that without the Soviet Unon the world-wide impetus for social revolution will disappear.

The United States Administration pursues a policy of open hostility towards the Soviet Union, which Reagan has described as the main source of evil in the world. From being an ally in the crusade against Hitlerism in the last war — an ally who bore the main burden and sacrifice in the last war — the Soviet Union has been painted by the propaganda of the cold war as a dastardly enemy against which no holds are barred. By means of economic warfare and boycotts the United States tries to hinder the economic development of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries,and bludgeons its allies into co-operating with its plans. The aim of this futile campaign is to undermine the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries technologically, economically and morally, to the point where they will be unable to resist the threats and pressures of the imperialist countries, or to survive if war should break out.

Direct military expenditure by the United States passed the 100 billion dollar mark in 1978, when the budget reached 105 billion dollars. By 1983 the budget had more than doubled to 215 billion dollars and by 1988 it will be nearly double again, to 386 billion. The section of the budget which is the biggest source of profits, "procurement", almost trebled from 20 billion dollars in 1978 to 55 billion dollars in 1983 and will reach 131 billion dollars by 1988 — 6½ times the 1978 figure. The profits of US arms manufacturers in 1982 rose by 23% compared with 1981 — and 1982 was a year of so-called "recession" in which the profits of all the large corporations combined declined by 24%. The US military-industrial complex has a huge vested interest in war and preparations for war.

Utilising this military might, US imperialism and its principal allies, Britain, France, West Germany, Italy, Canada and Japan intervene on the side of the reactionary classes throughout the world. In Africa, imperialism and its agencies such as the CIA seek to destabilise those countries taking a socialist path of development or pursuing anti-imperialist policies. Chad, one of the most impoverished countries in the world, is used as a battleground by France and the United States to interfere in the internal affairs of that country and to whip up anti-Libyan feelings on the continent. Namibian independence is deliberately delayed under the pretext of demanding the withdrawal of Cuban internationalist troops from Angola. The stationing or withdrawal of Cuban troops is a matter solely within the competence of the two governments concerned. Morocco is armed to the teeth so that it may continue to deny the people of Western Sahara their freedom and independence.

In the Middle East, Israel, with the full support and backing of US imperialism, pursues a policy of genocide against the Palestinians, illegally occupies part of Lebanon, the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, and threatens to engulf the region in another war, thereby threatening world peace. In Central America and the Caribbean, heroic Cuba, the Island of Freedom,is constantly threatened with military aggression, Grenada is under pressure to reverse its revolutionary process, overt and covert military aggression is committed against revolutionary Nicaragua, and right wing murderous military regimes in El Salvador and Guatemala are armed and financed in an attempt to crush the ever-growing armed revolutionary struggles in those countries. In Asia, counter-revolutionaries in Afghanistan,representing the most backward feudal elements, are given military, political, economic and diplomatic assistance in their attempt to overthrow the legitimate government and to install a pro-imperialist reactionary regime. A condition of the settlement of the Afghan dispute must be the cessation of arms supplies to the reactionary forces. Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea are under constant threat of attack from imperialism and its local allies. Separatist forces who seek to destroy the territorial integrity of India are assisted by the CIA. These and many other examples clearly demonstrate that all the acts of aggression come from the side of imperialism and its allies.

We South African communists declare our militant and unqualified solidarity with the peoples of Africa, the Middle East, Latin America and the Caribbean and Asia in their fight for national independence, democracy, peace and social progress. Together with the PLO, FMNL-FDR in El Salvador, Polisario, Swapo and other revolutionary forces in the socialist and non-socialist world, we can defeat the intrigues, manoeuvres and aggression of imperialism and its henchmen.

Imperialism has constantly sought to undermine and, if possible, destroy the non-aligned movement and the OAU. But they have failed. We fully support the endeavours and policies of the non-aligned movement and the OAU for world peace, negotiated settlement of inter-state disputes and for a new international economic order.

The South African Communist Party is an integral part of the world communist movement. Fraternal relations between its component parts are based on the lofty principles of proletarian internationalism. Despite some differences, the world communist movement remains the most cohesive and united international force fighting for peace, democracy,national liberation and socialism. It is the duty of all communist and workers' parties to strive for greater unity and cohesion in our ranks. There is an urgent need to work for the convening of an international conference of the world communist movement. We shall continue to develop and deepen bilateral relations with communist and workers' parties and support the holding of regional conferences of fraternal parties.

We in South Africa have a special interest in seeing international tensions relaxed. The liberation of the oppressed people of Namibia and South Africa is being held back, the independence of the frontline states undermined, their economies and infrastructure damaged, and the peace of the entire region violated by South African aggression. The Botha regime claims to be merely acting in self-defence against the "total onslaught" launched on South Africa by the forces of international communism spearheaded by the Soviet Union — thus echoing the voice of its master in the White House. But in truth it is fighting against the majority of the South African people who, denied all political rights, including the basic right of citizenship in the land of their birth, and subjected to ever-intensifying repression, support and nourish the freedom fighters of Umkhonto we Sizwe, the army of the liberation movement headed by the African National Congress. We Communists are an integral part of this liberation front and are proud to carry out our duties side by side with our allies.

Now that the Botha regime, thanks to the "constructive engagement" of its western allies, has acquired a nuclear weapons capacity, South Africa threatens the whole of Southern Africa with nuclear devastation. South African murder squads have already been sent to Mozambique, Angola, Lesotho, Zimbabwe, Zambia, Botswana and Swaziland, sowing death and destruction on an ever-increasing scale. South African armed and trained gangs like Unita in Angola, the "Mozambique Resistance Movement" (MNR), the Lesotho Liberation Army etc., kill, maim and destroy on the instructions of their Pretoria paymasters. Prime Minister Botha declared in an inverview in February 1983: "I'm an African and I believe communism is bad for Africa. If fellow Africans are threatened by the evils of communism we shall assist them". He gave his interview to the New York Times, no doubt calculating that his views would be well received by the Reagan Administration. But the judgement of the real leaders of independent Africa was delivered in the words of Botswana President Quett Masire at the Maputo meeting of the Southern African Development Coordination Conference last July: "South Africa threatens our very existence. It is a matter of life and death". Appealing for international action to restrain South Africa, he said: "We fear the situation will deteriorate to the point where international conflict becomes inevitable and orderly development is impossible."

The danger is that South African aggression must inevitably escalate into continental war. Every step taken by the militarist Botha regime is encouraged by the imperialists as part of their global strategy. For the Reagan Administration, South Africa performs the same role in Africa as Israel in the Middle East — as a custodian, a gendarme to be strengthened for the task of curbing the forces of liberation and independence and keeping the peoples of Africa within the western orbit. Thanks to the policies of the Botha and Reagan regimes, Southern Africa is today an arena of conflict and confrontation in which the all-consuming flames of world war may be ignited at any moment.

Success in the struggle to prevent not only war in Southern Africa but also a world-wide nuclear holocaust, depends on the unity of all democratic forces in South Africa and the frontline states in the fight for peace and social progress. It is our task to build that unity. Communists, said Marx and Engels in the Communist Manifesto, "labour everywhere for the union and agreement of the democratic parties of all countries". The only guarantee of peace in Southern Africa is the achievement of liberation, the ending of the race exploitation of South African capitalism, the construction of a new society in which discrimination and exploitation on the basis of race and class will be eliminated and all will enjoy equal rights and opportunities. The fight for liberation and the fight for peace are inextricably linked. We owe it not only to ourselves but to all the peoples of the frontline states, indeed all of Africa, to bend all our energies to bring that fight to a victorious conclusion.

IT IS TIME FOR FRANCE TO GET OUT OF AFRICA

by T. Singh

The present stage of the conflict in Chad serves as a sharp reminder that direct military intervention is a policy option readily exercised by imperialism whenever its "strategic interests" are under threat.

Today, a massive French military intervention in Chad has thrown a protective armoured ring around the pro-western regime of Hissen Habre to prevent its downfall at the hands of the forces of the GUNT (Transitional Government of National Unity) led by Goukouni Oueddei.

Yesterday, it was the CIA and American money and arms, supported by pro-western Arab states, which aided Habre's forces in overthrowing the legitimate government of Chad united within the GUNT. Both France and the United States have invoked the bogey of Libyan "expansionism" to justify their interference in the twenty-year-old civil strife in Chad.The truth, however, is otherwise.

Chad became an independent republic in 1960 after almost seventy years as a colony of France. Its stormy post-independence history can be traced directly to its colonial past and French imperialism's attempts to maintain its political and economic domination over the country since then. Like most of the former French colonies Chad, under its first president, Francois Tombalbaye, opted to become a member of the French Community and the franc zone.

French colonial policy led to a distorted growth, if we may call it that, for the socio-economic process.

The south, which experienced the largest concentration of French occupation throughout the period of colonial rule, became relatively more developed primarily agriculturally through the development of cotton farming. French education and culture permeated the lives of the southern peoples, the majority in Chad, and successive French administrations relied on the French-educated elite to facilitate the rule of colonialism. Christianity was fostered, though a large number of the ethnic groups remained animists. At the time of independence the entire government, civil service and military were drawn from the south.

In contrast, the northern regions of Chad, for long inhabited by nomadic groups whose main livelihood rested on livestock rearing, and predominantly Muslim in religion, were completely neglected. When independence came the peoples of the north were left out of the political power structures, the administration and the civil and military authority.

French colonialism and the practice of post-indepenent French-favoured presidents and political groups accentuated the diversity of ethnic, social, cultural and religious differences between the various tribes and nationalities into major contradictions which found their expression in the stuggle for political power and genuine independence.

The People Take Action

In 1966 the Front for the National Liberation of Chad (FROLINAT) was formed with the aim of overthrowing the neo-colonialist regime of Francois Tombalbaye. Despite often serious quarrels with his French patrons, Tombalbaye enlisted French military support in the anti-guerilla struggle. Mounting successes by FROLINAT, which had succeeded in spreading its base of operations as well as influence, forced the regime to change its composition, though it remained dependent on French military, economic and technical aid. More northerners were brought into government and administration. FROLINAT rejected this tokenism and pressed on with the struggle.

In 1975 the Chad army rebelled and overthrew the regime of Tombalbaye. Felix Malloum, Commander-in-Chief of the army of Chad, took over the reins of political power. The French dutifully recognised the new regime. Tombalbaye, who was killed during the coup, had outlived his usefulness to French imperial interests. The new political authority, armed with a French military pack of aid in return for allowing French military planes staging rights in N'Djamena, the capital, changed little for the country.

By now there were some 11 different political-military formations lined up against each other in the struggle for political power. FROLINAT, now allied with a number of other political-military groups from central and southern Chad, intensified the armed struggle and in 1979 the Malloum regime collapsed. In that same year the Lagos Conference, acting under a mandate from the OAU, conferred legitimacy on the GUNT with Goukouni Oueddei as president. All 11 of the country's military-political groups attended the Lagos Conference together with Chad's neighbouring countries. The GUNT represented the widest political grouping in the history of Chad.

Whether the FROLINAT line of strong, independent, anti-imperialist Chad would have emerged as the most popular within the eleven-party coalition government is diffucult to judge. The GUNT's most pressing priorities were to introduce much-needed social, economic and political measures to benefit the mass of the people who had to endure more than a decade of civil war. What is certain, however, is that imperialism, particularly American, did not allow the process of reconstruction even to begin. Within months of the GUNT's coming into power as a result of the Lagos Accords, reaction struck again, this time crystallising around the figure of Hissen Habre, who held the position of Defence Minister with the GUNT.

Hissen Habre — Imperialism's Hatchetman

In 1980 Habre withdrew from the GUNT and with the Army of the North (FAN) initiated a counter-revolution to overthrow the legitimate government of Chad. This phase of the civil war raged for nine months, mostly around the capital, N'Djamena. It became apparent that the US was actively supporting the counter-revolution, while France was content to watch developments. The GUNT sought and obtained Libya's support and defeated the counter-revolution. At the request of the GUNT Libyan troops remained in Chad as it became apparent that the country's stability was not completely consolidated with Habre in Sudan.

It was at this point that American aims to wreck Chad's fragile stability took more concrete shape. Hissen Habre began to regroup his forces who were now being trained, equipped and armed by Sudan and Egypt and financed to the tune of 10 million dollars by the CIA. Evidence of the military intervention by the United States in the affairs of Chad was given in the secret hearings to the Intelligence Committee of the US House of Representatives. This proved that the CIA was supplying arms to Habre while the Reagan administration was proclaiming its desire to end the conflict in Chad by peaceful means.[1]

At the same time the USA and France, with an orchestrated chorus from some of Chad's francophone neighbours, Egypt and Sudan, began demanding the withdrawal of Libyan troops from Chad. As soon as the GUNT acceeded to these demands Habre launched his next offensive. Civil war flared up once more. The OAU now sent in its own peace-keeping force, although it was apparant to all that peace was hardly something which American imperialism and its henchman, Habre, wanted. The half-hearted, indecisive role of the OAU force and the GUNT's own disarray worked decisively in favour of the counter-revolution. Habre entered N'Djamena in triumph in June, 1982. Imperialism had regained its stranglehold on Chad.

Hissen Habre's rise to power has been the result of a long and chequered career of duplicity, treachery and opportunism in the service of imperialism. He was part of the Tombalbaye administration and, according to an interview given by Goukouni Oueddei, was sent to infiltrate FROLINAT at its formation.[2] He used the financial resources supplied to him by that regime to form his own armed contingent (FAN) and remained within FROLINAT, no doubt realising that the regime was doomed because of its own corrupt practices and inability to deal effectively with the guerilla forces, even with French military support. He broke away from FROLINAT when his own ideas about the aims of the struggle diverged from those of the guerilla leaders, one of whom was Goukouni Oueddei, later the chief of FROLINAT.

At the height of the guerilla struggle against the regime of Felix Malloum, Habre entered into negotiations with that regime, abandoning the armed struggle to overthrow neo-colonialism and French domination in Chad. He became Prime Minister under Malloum. When it became apparent that the march of the guerilla struggle would inevitably lead to their taking power, Habre began plotting against the Malloum regime. Under the terms of the Lagos Accords Habre's political-military formation became a part of the government of national reconciliation. He became Defence Minister of the GUNT. He switched sides once more in 1980 when he led the counter-revolution against the GUNT.

This is the man who today claims legitimacy as the President of the Republic of Chad.

The present situation

Almost a year after their defeat the GUNT forces renewed their offensive, and between June and September 1983, effectively controlled the entire northern region of Chad. Most reports are unanimous that N'Djamena would have been recaptured by the GUNT. As in the past, however, imperialism stepped in, this time with massive supplies of arms and other military aid to the Habre regime, which itself called for open intervention by France. The civil war, which had its own complications, had become internationalised.

The United States made the initial running. $25 million of emergency military aid was pushed through to Habre. Two AWACS early warning planes and an escort of F-15 fighter planes were dispatched to neighbouring Sudan. The American administration made it clear that the role of the AWACS was to provide advanced warning communications to Habre about the GUNT forces and their lines of march and disposition. Inside Chad itself American technical advisers arrived to train Habre's forces in the use and deployment of the Redeyes — heat-seeking, anti-aircraft missiles. Thirty of these high-security, high-technology missiles, the most modern of their kind, had arrived in Chad.[3] In July 1983 Washington announced that its total aid to the Chad regime would rise to $100 million.[4]

On the diplomatic front the US administration launched an offensive to involve a number of African and Arab states on the side of its ally in Chad. Zaire, Senegal, Ivory Coast and Gabon, to name only a few, duly received the standard anti-Libyan dosage to lure them into the conflict. Zaire responded with the dispatch of some 2,500 troops and the US State Department was quick to point out that this had been done "at the prompting or suggestion of the US". President Reagan promptly expressed his admiration for the "courageous action" of Mobutu, whom he described as "a faithful friend for some 20 years".[5] However, it was necessary for the missing imperial factor, France, to intervene directly if Habre's regime was to be saved. This was the thinking which dominated the State Department's calculations. Accordingly the US President entered into direct communication with the socialist President of France, Francois Mitterand, and sent his special envoy, General Walters, to Paris.

It is possible that French ruling circles may have become alarmed at the manner in which US imperialism was using the Chad conflict to widen its own neo-colonial ambitions in a region traditionally regarded by the US as a "French sphere of interest" and forcing the socialist government to intervene militarily. Such speculation, cited to give some respectability to French military intervention, ignores the continuity of French imperial policy in Africa. It was Mitterand himself who laid the facts of French intervention bare in an inverview with *Le Monde* about the United States' pressurising tactics:

> "We have not ignored the Americans. They have been very much occupied with us. We have met, we have spoken. Mr Reagan has written to me, I have replied. I have listened with great interest to his special envoy, General Walters, who came urgently to see me. When the US decided to send the AWACS and the F-15's to Egypt and Sudan, it was not sought by us. They have communicated to us by themselves what they know of Libyan movements, and we thanked tthem..."[6]

France, he continued, had acted to the dictates of its own policy and positions. He indicated that as far as American policy was concerned there was a continuity from the past:

> "If the method has changed, the objective remains, preserving the role and interests of France, and fulfilling our duties as regards our African friends."[7]

Stripped of its political platitudes, what Francois Mitterand, socialist President of France, was saying was that French imperial interests had to be maintained in Africa.

Having distanced itself from the American connection, France stepped into the Chad conflict to preserve "the role and interests of France". 3,000 combat troops were dispatched, armed with the latest weapons and supported by Jaguar and Mirage strike aircraft, helicopter gunships, heavy artillery and armoured vehicles. That their role was not purely defensive was made clear by President Mitterand. If threatened, he said, they will "riposte" and will not limit themselves to purely defensive retaliation.[8]

Operation Manta, as the French intervention was codenamed, represents the heaviest concentration of French military power in Africa since the Algerian war of liberation. Not for the first time had the French ruling circles enlisted its armed forces to maintain French neo-colonial interests in Africa.

Le Grande France

French imperialism has had a long history of military intervention in Africa. The most notable, becauseof its enormity, was against the Algerian people in the liberation war which raged from 1956 until Algerian independence in 1962. More than 300,000 French troops were involved in an attempt to crush the freedom drive of the Algerian people and preserve the French empire in Africa intact.

In 1958 France, under the presidency of General De Gaulle, offered its African colonies the choice of becoming free states within the French Community, thus abandoning the pretence that France and"her overseas territories" were indivisible. Direct colonial rule was replaced by a neo-colonial arrangement under which the monetary policy of the francophone states was to be directed from Paris. More importantly, the Community arrangement allowed French capital and industry unfettered access to the raw materials and markets of these countries.

Whatever benefits may have accrued to the francophone states, French industrial-finance capital has retained its dominant, if not sole, rights to extract the primary products and raw materials of these countries, develop them into finished products in France, and retail these at profitable prices to francophone Africa. To date this pattern has remained unchanged. In 1979, for example, French imports from these countries amounted to $3.1 thousand million while exports of manufactured goods amounted to some $6.4 thousand million[9] To maintain this profitable neo-colonial exploitation by French multinationals and capital in general, imperial France was not averse to sending in troops whenever a situation threatened to disrupt or sever such avenues of profit.

In February 1964 French troops intervened in Gabon to restore the rule of president Leon M'ba. France relies on Gabon for such strategic minerals as uranium, oil and manganese, most of which is exported to France.

From 1967 to the present France sent numerous military expeditions into Chad to maintain the rule of its own placemen against the guerilla struggle for genuine independence. Chad is one of Africa's poorest and least developed countries with cotton as its main export, most of which goes to France. However, geological reports of substantial oil and uranium deposits in the south and north of Chad are factors influencing France to maintain its foothold in the country.

French forces were also deployed against the POLISARIO when the guerillas thrust deep into the territory of Mauritania, a former French colony and member of the Community which claimed the Western Sahara. Late in 1979, 1,000 French troops occupied Bangui, capital of the Central African Republic, whilst Jean Bedel Bokassa was away on a state visit. David Dacko, former president of the CAR, ousted by Bokassa in 1967 with French collusion, was restored to the presidency. "Emperor" Bokassa had become an embarrassment to the French empire. Not even the gifts of diamonds which he was reported to have lavished on Valeri Giscard D'Estaing, then president of France, could save him. France's military intervention was not limited to the francophone states. French paratroops intervened directly in Zaire to save Mobutu's regime when patriotic forces in Shaba province rose against the dictator in 1978. The province's rich resources — copper, uranium, cobalt and other minerals — served as strong enough motivation for intervention.[10]

But it is not only the economic factor, important as it is to French strategic requirements and profits, that has determined French policy in Africa. Both political and military considerations have been paramount in maintaining large regions of Africa as a "French sphere in influence". This is how former president, Valeri Giscard D'Estaing put it:

> "in the field of politics Africa must be for the Africans. In economics Africans would impoverish themselves if they limited their interest to their continent alone... It also means that you protect Africa from non-Africans who want to sow disruption or, sadly, violence. The objective of French policy is that the Africans can themselves control the problems of Africa."[11]

French imperialism seems always to have decided *who* "non-Africans" are and *how* Africa must solve its own problems! Perhaps what Giscard meant was that Africa must solve its own problems as long as it does not hinder the operation of French imperial interests.

South African patriots have for a long time experienced the effects of the French imperial involvement in the arming of the South African racist regime. For years France sold the most sophisticated air, land, sea and communications systems and arms and equipment to Pretoria.The Koeberg nuclear power complex was constructed by a French consortium and French-supplied blueprints and patents are enabling the racists to produce fighter planes, light tanks and guided missiles. Perhaps President Mitterand should clarify for us which aspect of French policy in Africa his government is pursuing. Is there a continuity of French policy? If not, what are French troops doing in Chad? Is not Chad an African problem to be solved by Africans? Or are the French more African than the Libyans, who have supplied political and military aid to the forces of the GUNT?

What, we may legitimately ask, is the presence of French military personnel and bases in Africa designed to protect if not the domination of French industrial-finance capital?

It has been estimated that the current strength of French military personnel in various parts of Africa is around 15,000. France has base facilities within 11 countries and there is an interlocking system of military garrisons within 22 African countries. France has, since 1964, maintained an active service special force of intervention aimed at Africa. This force — the Eleventh Airborne Division — is available to serve as a mobile unit at short notice. Stationed in southern France it is complete with paratroop, marine, infantry and artillery brigades with 220 strike aircraft at its disposal.[12] Was this *force d'intervention* really set up to maintain the interests of Africa?

In Chad French military intervention is without any justification. France has invoked a military treaty of 1976 between it and the government of Felix Malloum in defence of its intervention. This is to ignore two fundamental points. Firstly, it was a treaty between France and its own placeman then fighting to save his regime from the guerilla forces which threatened its overthrow. The very same forces came into power in 1979 under the umbrella of the GUNT. How could such a treaty stilll be held to be operative with the radically different government which demanded the withdrawal of all French military personnel and installations from Chad? Secondly, the treaty itself only provided for "logistical support" — a far cry from military intervention. It is clear that French imperial circles are relyng on the flimsiest excuse to dictate their own solution in their own favour in Chad.

Where To Now?

There is a lull in the fighting in Chad at the moment. The forces of the GUNT control the north of the country. French armour, in concert with the forces of Hissen Habre, appears to have sealed off the south. President Mitterand, whilst claiming to favour an OAU and UN solution, has also proposed a federation, which implied the old north-south division, since this accords with the disposition of forces at the moment. "A federation is more in line with reality than a formal unity always being broken", he said.[13] That the unity, fragile though it was, achieved by the GUNT at the instance of the OAU, was in reality fractured by the direct intervention of US imperialism seemed to have escaped the notice of the astute president.

The solution has been rejected by the GUNT, and for good reasons. It would merely perpetuate the historic injustice imposed by French colonialism, which divided the country into two *de facto* regions in its own interests. It also ignores the present political realities and balance of forces in Chad. The GUNT still commands within its ranks the support and participation of the major political-military formations in the country — both from the north and the south. Unity and national reconciliation have greater chances of success under the leadership of the GUNT than at the point of French bayonets and the isolated forces of Hissen Habre. There is still the other political reality which both France and Habre with their allies have to understand: many OAU governments recognise the GUNT as the legitimate political authority in Chad. After all, the coming into being of the GUNT was an authentic African solution to an African problem. Thus, President Ratsiraka of Madagascar insists that "for us, the Transnational Government of National Unity (GUNT) is the lawful political authority in Chad."[14] The foreign Minister of Congo-Brazzaville was outspoken against French intervention in Chad, and added:

> "restructuring of states is the affair of its nationals. Today, there is an occupation of Chad by the French army. The appeal to a legality in N'Djamena is only a pretext for direct action in Chad. The appeal to Libya in this conflict was made by a government which had signed agreements with it for military assistance."[15]

Nothing short of an immediate French withdrawal can facilitate the solution by the people of Chad and their organisations of the present conflict. There is certainly a role for the OAU, if requested by the various parties. The Committee of Ten African states, attended by the present chairman of the OAU, Mengistu Haile Mariam, met in Brazzaville in August, 1983 and proposed the following minimum programme as a precondition for the unity and reconciliation process in Chad:

1. a negotiated ceasefire.
2. the withdrawal of all foreign troops.
3. all Chad's neighbours to work toward reconciliation and unity in Chad.

The leader of the GUNT, Goukouni Oueddei, spoke favourably of a "final reconciliation" of all forces, including those of Hissen Habre. "Chadians are crying for peace, for normal lives..."[16] Africa, and more particularly a socialist president in France, have to act now to restore Chad to its people.

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AFRICA NOTES AND COMMENT

by Du Bois

UPPER VOLTA: Power to the People?

On August 4, 1983 the tiny West African state of Upper Volta experienced its fifth military coup in its stormy 23 years of independence.

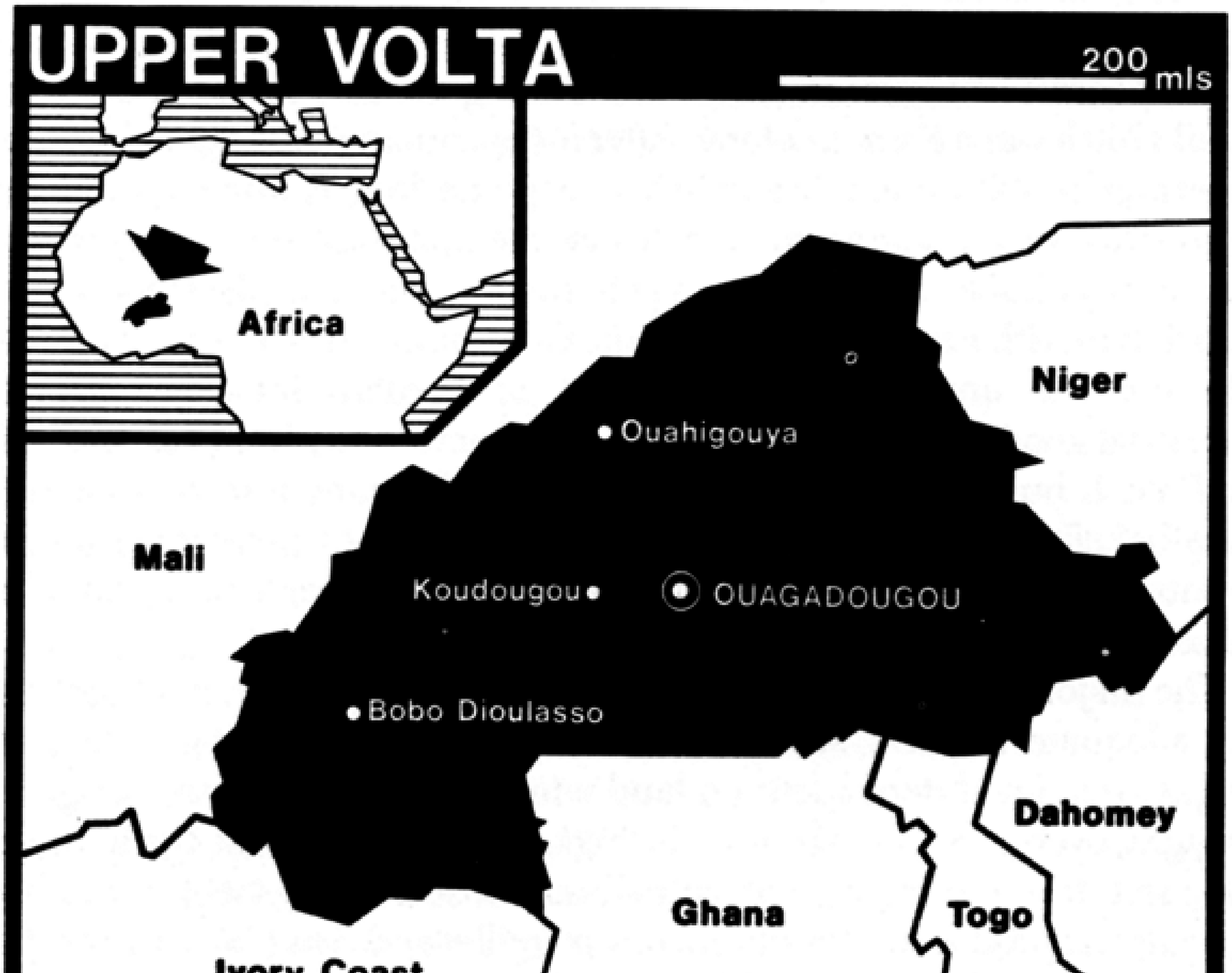
What are the reasons for the frequent intervention of the armed forces in the life of this country? Who have benefitted from this? Is the latest coup any different from the previous ones? Upper Volta (population, 6.5 million) is one of the poorest countries in Africa and among the 25 poorest in the world. Until 1960 it was a French colony. After independence on August 5, 1960 the government of President Maurice Yameogo decided to apply for membership of the French Community. In theory, the Community was created to aid the francophone African states in their economic development by association with France. In practice, the Community has become a means of allowing the unrestricted penetration of French finance-capital and industrial goods into these countries. The Community has been profitable for French business but only certain sections in many francophone states have benefitted from this arrangement. The mass of the people in these countries gained very little, if at all. The history of Upper Volta followed the same pattern.

The majority of the population remained extremely poor, illiterate, without adequate medical facilities. The peasantry, comprising 95% of the people, remained dependent on land which was continuously ravaged by drought, over-population (one of the highest population densities in Africa), poor soil, low and infrequent rainfall and a decreasing yield in the basic agricultural products — sorghum, maize, millet and rice. Cotton is the main export earner, with livestock following.

Although the country is known to have deposits of strategic minerals such as managanese, vanadium, bauxite, zinc, lead and nickel, very little has been done to develop these. Industrial development is almost negligible, accounting for only 5% of the country's gross domestic product.

Military coups in the past appear to have had one overriding consideration: to change the balance of economic power in the interests of one section or another of the local beneficiaries of French neo-colonialism. The big brass in the army acted as the cat's paw of these minority interests. Each coup was proclaimed to be in the interests of the people, against corruption within the ranks of the local ruling circles, and against extravagance. But nothing changed.

In March, 1966 the army moved in to depose the regime of Yameogo, who was accused of large-scale embezzlement of state funds. Lieutenan-Colonel Sangouele Lamizana, Army Chief of Staff, took over the reins of political power. Lamizana ruled for 14 years exercising dictatorial powers through decrees and ordinances. Under pressure from the trade unions, the lower echelons of the civil service and the students, Lamizana allowed



constitutional rule through a National Assembly for a limited period. The army however was the dominant force in this arrangement. Civil unrest mounted and Lamizana arrested all opponents, suspended the constitution and reverted to dictatorial rule banning all political parties.

During his rule Upper Volta, together with other countries of the Sahel, experienced one of the worst and most prolonged droughts in the region's history — from 1969-1974. The economic consequences were disastrous for crop and animal husbandry. The region was declared an international disaster area.

In November, 1980 another army coup overthrew the Lamizana regime and brought into power Colonel Saye Zerbo. The immediate cause for this latest army intervention was the threatened general strike by workers, civil servants and students. This was a law and order coup. All political parties and activities were banned. A number of prominent leaders of the threatened strike movement, including leading trade unionists, were arrested. All civil institutions were suspended.

Six months later a group of junior officers led a successful coup against Zerbo. Among the leaders of the coup was Captain Thomas Sankara, who became Prime Minister under the presidency of a senior army medical officer, Major Jean-Baptiste Ouedraogo. The Council for the Salvation of the People (CSP), a 120-member body, was created to return power to the people. At the same time, Sankara, through various announcements and at international meetings such as the last conference of the Non-Aligned Movement, made it clear that the new administration was determined to break the old mould of politics and dependence. He sought to move the country closer to the progressive, anti-imperialist forces in Africa and the world.

Move to the Right

Under the influence of the more conservative elements within the armed forces, Ouedraogo moved against this new direction. Sankara together with a number of progressive ministers was arrested in May 1983. But the old guard's hold on the levers of political power, and especially within the army, proved flimsy. Under the pressure of threatened strikes by the unions and the more progressive political forces, as well as mounting unrest within the armed forces, Captain Sankara was realeased in June 1983.

On August 4, on the eve of the country's independence celebrations, progressive sections of the armed forces struck again, removing Ouedraogo with his conservative backers from power, and Captain Thomas Sankara was proclaimed Head of State. Shortly thereafter a counter-revolution was staged by reactionary elements within the armed forces, but was defeated.

What is the nature of the new power structure in Upper Volta today? How does it propose to deal with the country's chronic political instability, economic dependence and other social problems? The new government sees as its basic tasks the restoration of genuine independence in place of the neo-colonial dependence which characterised the previous regime. As part of this, and also as part of the process of defending the "freedom, honour and dignity of the people", the new government has made it clear that all arrangements and agreements between previous regimes and France will be reviewed, changed, improved or rejected as the case may be. Upper Volta's foreign policy will be based firmly on the principles of non-alignment, peaceful coexistence with all its neighbours, and unqualified support for the national liberation movements in Africa and elsewhere.

Domestic policy will have as its fundamental direction the involvement of the mass of the people in the process of government. To this end the Sankara government is composed largely of civilians with only five members of the armed forces in government positions. Most of the progressive ministers previously dismissed and jailed have been released and offered ministerial positions in the new government. The main political organisation is the National Revolutionary Council (CNR). The people will be organisationally linked to the CNR and the government through neighbourhood Councils for the Defence of the Revolution (CDRs). Each CDR will be composed of a military cell for the defence of the revolution, a political cell for the political education of the people, and a cultural cell for the development and protection of the cultural heritage of the people. The CDRs will be the "spearhead of the revolution" and the organisations through which mass politcal power will be conveyed to the CNR and back to the CDRs.

The army will no longer occupy a position of privilege. Apart from its special role as the defender of the revolutionary process in Upper Volta, it will play its part alongside the mass of the people in the development of the new Upper Voltan society in accordance with the principle that "a soldier is a civilian in uniform ... and a civilian is a soldier on leave".

At the same time the system which hitherto had allowed the powerful to exploit the powerless will be radically changed and justice will be equal for all, rich and poor.

Economic Policies

On the economic front the disastrous agricultural policies pursued by previous regimes to meet the demands of the international foreign monopolies rather than the needs of the masses will be transformed. Food self-sufficiency is to be the cornerstone of agricultural policy, and the peasantry, the mainstay of the economy, will become the main beneficiaries of the development strategy. This means that the process whereby Upper Volta has drifted into a mono-crop agriculture (cotton), primarily to satisfy foreign markets, has to be reversed. At the time of independence, for example, upper Volta produced 2,341 tons of cotton per year. By 1976 the figure was twenty times as high and nearly 30% of all farmers were engaged, through state encouragement, in producing cotton for export. Between 1960 and 1976 the production of basic agricultural produce — sorghum, maize, millet and rice — fell from 1,035,300 to 986,000 tons. The result has been to create a permanent deficit in food production, which has meant greater reliance on imports and a further drain on the country's financial resources. The social consequences of such policies have lead to widespread malnutrition and often starvation.

In the social field the government has announced its plans to introduce a wide-ranging program of education to deal with the 95% illiteracy in the country. The CNR has also indicated its determination to draw more women into the political process. The measures proposed to drag Upper Volta into the sphere of independent political and economic development are radical enough. The degree of success that the government of Upper Volta will reap depends ultimately on how the concrete socio-economic tasks of development are tackled. Meaningful mass participation is indispensable to maintain the momentum of radical change and to defend it against foreign interference and internal reaction.

President Ratsiraka of the Malagasy Republic has welcomed the latest developments in Upper Volta as a "replenishment of the ranks of Africa's progressive countries."

MALAWI: Night of the Long Knives

During the course of 1983 the silence surrounding the reactionary dictatorship of Kamuzu Banda's Malawi has been shattered by a number of mysterious deaths and a major political trial. Below, we publish an article written for the *African Communist* by a Malawi national entitled "After Banda — What Next?". As a backdrop to the article it is necessary to consider some of the events which have focussed attention on Malawi this year, and which gives some indication of the character of the regime in Malawi.

In March, this year, the leader of the Socialist League of Malawi (LESOMA), Dr Attati Mpakati, was assassinated in Harare. Most informed sources attributed this killing to secret agents of Banda's regime, especially since the previous attempt on Mpakati's life by a parcel bomb in Maputo in February, 1979, was actually claimed by Banda as the work of his "boys". LESOMA has continually exposed the supportive role which the Banda regime has been playing in Pretoria's war against the frontline states. For example, Jorge Jardim, avowed enemy of the Mozambican revolution, was given unrestricted freedom of movement in Malawi. There are close political and economic ties between South Africa and Malawi and South African planes have unrestricted landing rights and facilities at the new Lilongwe airport, built and financed by the South Africans. Lilongwe is also the site for a secret South African airbase.

In May the leader of the Malawi Freedom Movement (MAFREMO), Dr Orton Chirwa, and his wife Vera were arrested, tried for high treason and sentenced to death. At the time of writing they were still awaiting execution. Both of them submitted in court that they had been abducted from Zambia in December, 1982.

Opponents of the regime have not been the only ones to suffer the long knives of the dictatorship. In mid-May four leading members of Banda's party, the Malawi Congress Party, including its secretary general Dick Matenje, were found dead. They were alleged to have been killed in a car accident, but the regime only made this official announcement weeks after the deaths. Two lines of speculation have emerged from their deaths. First, that they were discovered to have been involved in a plot to overthrow Banda; the plot was uncovered and the four killed. Second, that an inner-party political struggle to choose Banda's successor had resulted in one faction, with Banda's blessings, launching a pre-emptive strike against the other of which the four dead men were leading members.

After Banda — What Next?

Our correspondent writes:

The colonial history of Malawi is much linked with Scottish missionaries. Most of those wielding power underwent a lot of political orientation at the head of missionaries. Products of such Calvinist institutions as Livingstonia Mission and Blantyre Mission were referred to as Black Scotsmen in the lands neighbouring Malawi. They were the first to be hired for jobs in East, Central, and Southern Africa.

The political ideas that the educated elite was exposed to from Scottish missionaries are responsible for much that has happened. Malawi was almot a Calvinist theocracy during colonial times and products of Calvinist institutions are the ones who have been running the show in the country. Banda says that the four cornerstones of Malawi are Unity, Loyalty, Obedience and Discipline. These are the four cornerstones of these Calvinist institutions.

The leaders of the anti-colonial struggle before Banda came to Malawi in 1958 were all rebels against the Scottish missionaries. Among these are Eliott Kamwana, John Chilembwe, Charles Domingo, Y.Z. Mwasi, Paddy Nyasulu, Jordan Msumba, Charles Chimula etc. With the coming of Banda, leadership passed on to highly educated mission trained people like H.B. Chipembere, Kanyama Chiume and Dunduzu Chisiza. Banda himself is a church elder of the Presbyterian Church. So, a struggle which had questioned idealist assumptions was turned into one that relied on such precepts.

When Banda arrived in 1958, the movement became some kind of a Christian millenarian movement with Banda posing as a charismatic leader. The "Young Turks" like Chipembere and Chiume indulged in unrestrained adulation of Banda. While Banda was still in London, Chipembere wrote to him: "Human nature is such that it needs a kind of hero to be hero-worshipped if a political struggle is to succeed." The cult of the individual started at this time and collective excitement followed Banda whenever he toured the country.

During this period of collective excitement, there was no time to discuss ideological issues. Banda is a bourgeois individualist, but the masses were not allowed to see unpalatable implications attached to this. The question of democratic discussion of points of view was never raised. The masses were not thought of as having the right to influence decision making — everything was left to the "Ngwazi", the great conqueror who had the solution to every problem in his head.

Atrocities

A lot of atrocities have been committed, especially by the young with of the ruling Malawi Congress Party and by the paramilitary organization, the Young Pioneers. In "The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte", Marx says:

> "Alongside decayed *roués* with dubious means of subsistence and of dubious origin, alongside ruined and adventurous offshoots of the bourgeoisie, were vagabonds, discharged soldiers, discharged jailbirds, escaped galley slaves, swindlers, mountebanks, *lazzaroni,* pickpockets, tricksters, gamblers, *maquereaus,* brothel keepers, porters, *litterati,* organ-grinders, ragpickers, knife grinders, tinkers beggars — in short the whole indefinite, disintegrated mass, thrown hither and thither, which the French term la bohème; from this kindred element Bonaparte formed the core of the Society of December 10".

Banda has organized the counterpart of these into his Young Pioneers and Youth League. In other words, Banda has put himself as chief of the lumpen-proletariat in the same way Louis Bonaparte did. The two bodies in Malawi are organized to the village level and hence the reign of terror in Malawi has not been confined to the town only. Malawi has been turned into something like an over-sized jail.

The victims of brutality have included innocent people who have never opposed the regime of Banda. Among those who have been victimized most are members of the Jehovah's Witness sect. In their journal *Awake* of 8 December, 1975, they state: "The experience of Jehovah's Witnesses in Nazi Germany is being repeated — this time in Africa". Here is an example of some of the illtreatment they underwent:

> "Their (Jehovah's Witnesses) attackers beat them and then take two Witness men and tie their genitals together. They beat them on the genitals so that if one pulls away from the beating he will injure the other. They tie heavy bricks onto the genitals of other Witnesses and make them walk with these".

Most of these atrocities have taken place among the matrilineal Chewa people of Central Region. Engels, in *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* spoke highly of the culture of matrilineal peoples. People in such socieites are supposed to be peace-loving and the Chewa have such a reputation in Malawi. The occurrence of these atrocities shows that the matrilineal social order is being shaken up and the society is facing the sociological tension that accompanies the switch from matrilineal to a patrilineal social order.

During colonial times, the Central Region of Malawi was an ideological colony of Stellenbosh University in South Africa. Calvinist missionaries trained at this university have been proselytizing in the Central Region for almost a century. Patriarchical social values are part of the doctrine they have been preaching in the area. So, at the ideological level, there has been a lot spread against the matrilineal social order while capitalism has shaken the mode of production on which the matrilineal social order is based. This highly egalitarian society is now being split into classes, and this is another source of the tension facing this society. Engels said that the acquisition of property by the male was the cause of the switch from matriarchy to patriarchy. A class of kulaks and traders is emerging and most Jehovah's Witnesses belong to this group.

There is extreme censorship of news in Malawi. Even such bourgeois publications as *Africa* and *The New African* are banned. Karl Marx bitterly opposed press censorship because it leads to

> "hypocrisy, the greatest of vices ... the government hears only its own voice ... surrenders to the illusion that it hears the voice of the people ... The people on its side falls either into political superstition or else into indifference, and so turns completely from the life of the state".

Unlike the dictatorships of Mobutu and Idi Amin, that of Kamuzu Banda is a very efficient one. But one can still notice a lot of chaos because of the presence of a very undependable capitalist system. People in the country are internalizing in their personalities the ambiguity and uncertainty which the capitalist order is engendering.

The Workers Are Angry

The proletariat, on whom the future of Malawi depends, is in a very angry mood. It knows that it is the most productive sector of the population and yet a worker with five children is paid a salary eight times below that paid to a 23-year-old young man who has just graduated from university.

The peasantry has also suffered a lot from the present dictatorship. Thousands of peasants in the Kasungu and Lilongwe districts have been shifted from their gardens to give way to large farms of Kamuzu Banda and other Malawi Congress Party officials. Peasants have been paying tax for a long time, and yet in rural areas there are virtually no hospitals. In fact, Banda never bothers to talk about rural development. In the early 1960's, the establishment of co-operatives was regarded as a solution to the task of rural development. But Banda has abolished all co-operatives in the country.

The only solution to the mess Banda has created is for the proletariat, in alliance with the peasantry, to seize state power and turn the means of production into state property. This must be followed by the establishment of collectivist economic institutions in which the peasants and workers can creatively participate. Without changes in the economic order, no genuine departure from the present order will be made. The majority of Malawians are anxious to follow the socialist path to development, and no government that is not socialist has any chance of satisfying the needs of Malawi peoples.

BOOK REVIEWS

CLASS AND NATION IN AFRIKANER DEVELOPMENT

Volkskapitalisme: Class, capital and ideology in the development of Afrikaner Nationalism 1934-1948, by Dan O'Meara (Cambridge University Press 1983. Price £22.50).

The author, a South African who at the time of writing was Professor Auxuliar at the Centre of African Studies at the Eduardo Mondlane University in Maputo, says in his introduction that his study "seeks to analyse the specific contradictions of and struggles around the development of capitalism in South Africa which gave rise to the highly differentiated phenomenon 'Afrikaner Nationalism' as one of the ideological and political forms of struggle". This approach is in conformity with the Marxist doctrine that nationalism, the development of national movements and the establishment of nation states are the concomitants of the progression from feudalism to capitalism, and arise from the competition for control of the marketplace.

O'Meara frequently makes use of Marxist criteria as a tool of analysis. He emphasises that Afrikaner nationalism cannot be accepted solely in terms of Afrikaner consciousness, for as Marx pointedout, "it is not the consciousness of men which determines their being, but, on the contrary, their social being which determines their consciousness". O'Meara then proceeds to examine the various sources and centres of Afrikaner nationalism — the wealthy and small farmers, the petty-bourgeoisie, the rising industrialists and financiers, the workers. He demonstrates that Afrikanerdom was not a single undifferentiated mass of Afrikaans-speaking nationalists, but a multi-faceted conglomeration of class forces, often conflicting, which was welded together by the Nationalist Party into a powerful economic and political force under certain specific conditions.

As both the nature of the forces and the conditions changed, so the political balance altered. After the Anglo-Boer war the political co-operation which developed between the wealthier farmers and the mineowners provided the basis for the South African Party of Botha and Smuts, but when Hertzog broke away in 1912 he drew his support from the middle and small farmers, the petty-bourgeoisie, the growing number of landless and the 'poor whites' who were forced into the towns to seek work as unskilled labour. The Nationalist Party which they formed had a different class basis in the various provinces, and O'Meara analyses these differences with a mass of detail, indicating the way in which they influenced the formation of policy and the development of factions inside the Party itself.

The extent to which these class-based differences undermined unity was manifested when Smuts and Hertzog joined forces in 1933. The Cape Nationalist Party congress rejected fusion by 164 votes to 18, while the OFS congress voted to dissolve itself into the United Party by 107 votes to 27 and the Transvaal congress by 281 votes to 38. These votes were not accidental but reflected the differing class bases of the Nationalist Party in the various provinces. Other contradictions are illustrated by the history of the Broederbond, at first predominantly a Transvaal organisation. Whereas Afrikaner nationalism in the Transvaal was mainly rural, the Broederbond was mainly an urban and petty-bourgeois phenomenon. Nevertheless, given the comparative weakness of the Nationalist Party in the Transvaal in the 1920s and early 30s, the Bond in that province came to dominate the Party and Afrikaner organisations. By contrast, the long-established leadership of the Nationalist Party in the Cape retained firm control of the institutions of Afrikaner nationalism there. O'Meara also has some interesting explanations of the cause of the rivalry between the Ossewa Brandwag, Pirow's New Order, the Nationalist Party and other elements competing for control of Afrikanerdom during the war period.

The Herenigde Nasionale Party under Dr Malan came to power in 1948, argues O'Meara, largely as a result of the development of the Afrikaner economic movement, inspired by the Broederbond and the Reddingsdaadbond, which enabled the party to organise and mobilise an alliance between the rising Afrikaner bourgeoisie, the farmers and the workers. Afrikaner nationalism in the period from 1934 to 1948 was shaped, he concludes, "by the imperatives and contradictions of, and struggles around, the accumulation of capital".

In the course of his analysis he has provided the most detailed examination of the class forces behind Afrikaner nationalism yet to be published. But the one element missing from his book is an adequate evaluation of the national factor itself. Maybe he considered it to be outside his brief. Nevertheless, if the national factor is missing it is impossible to understand what Afrikaner nationalism is. There is more to nationalism than wages, stocks and shares. Lenin in his writings on the national question repeatedly stressed the need for communists to take account of national sensibilities. "Nothing holds up the development and strengthening of proletarian class solidarity so much as national injustice; 'offended' nationals are not sensitive to anything so much as the feeling of equality and the violation of this equality..." he wrote in *The Question of Nationalities* in December 1922.

O'Meara is not unaware of the question of national consciousness; indeed his book is largely devoted to explaining the relationship between economic base and ideological superstructure. However, by concentrating his attention almost exclusively on the issues of class and capital accumulation he has inevitably undervalued the importance of other elements in the development of Afrikaner nationalism. The nature of the superstructure itself has been inadequately explored. Perhaps he takes it for granted, or assumes the reader knows all about it. In the opinion of this reviewer, the book could have done with more discussion of Afrikaner history, ethnic origins, the struggle for language and culture, the influence of the church, the issue of racism and all the other factors which have combined to stimulate Afrikaner national sensibilities and produce the unique entity of Afrikanerdom and the ideology of Afrikaner nationalism.

Z.N.

CAUSES AND CURE FOR THIRD WORLD POVERTY

The Political Economy of Underdevelopment, by Thomas Szentes
Fourth, Revised and Enlarged English Edition, Akademiai Kiado, Budapest, 1983, pp. 426, HB $39.00)

Tamas Szentes' latest edition of *The Political Economy of Underdevelopment* does three things: it systematically and critically reviews the various non- or pseudo-Marxist explanations of "underdevelopment" (Part I); it provides the reader with a comprehensive materialist theory of underdevelopment; and, finally, it outlines the major points of a strategy for the practical liquidation of underdevelopment (Part II).

Bourgeois approaches to underdevelopment range from those making use of some isolated symptoms like statistical indices (*per capita* income, GDP, etc.) to Rostow's ahistorical stages of growth theory and, more recently, to the neo-metaphysical, neo-idealist "sociological" and psychological explanations. In refuting these approaches, which analyse underdevelopment outside the historical development of the world economy and society, the author effectively explains why they cannot offer a comprehensive and acceptable explanation, uncovering, at the same time, the ideological objectives and the interests these theories actually serve.

Starting point for Szentes' analysis is the well-founded Marxist thesis that present-day underdevelopment is the product of a specific development, i.e. it is the outcome of the international development of capitalism and thus inseparable from it. With a view to further enhancing this thesis, the work seeks to contribute new elements,as reflected in recent developments and changes, and to provide a detailed examination of the inner mechanisms of the system of underdevelopment.

According to Szentes, central to this system are the two interrelated sides of underdevelopment: the basically external, international aspect (movement of the capitalist world economy and the international division of labour) which, historically, is the primary aspect; and the internal aspect (a peculiarly distorted domestic economic and social structure) which, from the point of view of future development, is increasingly important (p. 202).

The prospects for the overcoming of underdevelopment are thus closely connected with the correct solution of the tasks posed by the said two aspects: the external aspect calls for changes in the world economy — for the solution of the problems of unequal international structures of ownership, control, division of labour, trade, etc., and for further changes in external power relations and the building up of new relations; the internal necessitates a domestic transformation, structural and institutional changes and democratic reforms (pp. 202-3). The author then goes on with an extensive analysis of the specific changes required on both the domestic and the international planes and resolutely dispels all scepticism:

> "The way to liquidate underdevelopment in a revolutionary way on a world-wide scale is not a blocked road, but a road fit for traffic only if the coexistence of certain conditions is secured... To overcome underdevelopment... national and international changes alike are needed and possible even under present-day conditions" (p. 376).

Indeed, the forces which are interested in social change are considerable and strong enough, embracing not only the poor masses of developing countries,their progressive movements and governments, but also the socialist countries and all those democratic forces and social strata which oppose or suffer from the dominance of monopolistic companies and the anarchistic operation of the world economy (pp. 415-6).

The Political Economy of Underdevelopment which, since its first English edition in 1971 has known wide acceptance on four continents as an educational tool, contains important new information and brings previous data up to date. A serious and valuable work, it is an indispensable reference for the student of contemporary world processes.

C. Theodoropoulos

PROSPECTS OF REVOLUTION IN AFRICA

Proletarianization and Class Struggle in Africa Edited by Bernard Magubane and Nzongola-Ntalaja (Synthesis Publications, San Fransisco, Ca. June 1983 185 pages, $8.95).

This book is published as part of the "Contemporary Marxism Series" which is edited by Rod Bush. The main thrust of the book can be summarised by the following quotes from the editors:

> "Proletarianization is the process by which individuals are divorced from their own means of production to enter the labour market as wage earners or sellers of labour power to those who own capital" (p 15).

The details of this process are concisely and clearly set out, with a discussion of the various classes and forces involved in South Africa, Zaire, Zambia, Angola and Ghana. There is considerable similarity in the nature of this process in the five countries (migrant labour, for instance, is a key feature of proletarianization), but each has its own unique features.

The second quote (p 18) states:

> "The five papers in this volume are a small effort by African scholars to assess the nature of the African working class, the battles this class has waged to arrive where it is presently, and the battles that still lie ahead".

The book focuses on the role of the petty bourgeoisie in the struggle for national liberation, and shows that at times its role is progressive (though usually not revolutionary), while at other times it is reactionary.

Bush, in his introduction, points out that the tide of independence that swept Africa in the 1950s and 1960s did not reach fruition in southern Africa primarily because of the strategic importance to the West of the vast mineral wealth, and also because of the powerful political force of the whites, who had control of the land and its wealth.

Magubane's discussion on South Africa broadly follows our liberation movement's perspective. He points out that the ANC in its early days was led by the petty bourgeoisie in a progressive but not revolutionary manner. The ANC's programme became more revolutioary when the former Youth Leaguers became involved in its leadership. Unfortunately, Magubane under-emphasises the significance of the alliance between the ANC and SACP, thus failing to acknowledge the vital role of the working class party in the liberation process.

Another concept missing from Magubane's acount is "colonialism of a special type," which is a unique feature of South Africa compared to the other four countries dealt with in the book, and explains in part why South Africa still remains unliberated.

Zaire, in contrast with South Africa, had a weak "local" bourgeoisie, so that the Belgian bourgeoisie played an important role early on. The local whites were incorporated into the colonial administration, and "de-revolutionised". Zaire had the lowest number of unionised workers in all Africa (less than one percent) in 1954, considerably weakening the revolutionary potential of its working class. Many parallels existed with SA, including the deportation of unwanted blacks to their villages of origin (compare removals to the Bantustans), elaborate restrictions on trade union activity, and "self-governing councils" which had a role similar to the Bantustans.

One of the pitfalls of national liberation struggles is pointed out as follows (p 79): "Class struggle was subsumed under the national struggle" in Zaire, particularly as the political parties were all led by the petty bourgeoisie. Pursuit of self-interest led to the Katanga secession. At present, Nzongola-Natalaja rates the prospects of revolution as low, the ruling class having a tight, repressive reign on the country.

One of the key features of Ghana was that the bourgeoisie was imported from the United Kingdom, being virtually non-existent locally at first. The economy was based on cash crop agriculture, so that the working class was small. Again, the petty bourgeoisie took the leading role in organising for independence, but its role, epitomised by Nkrumah, was progressive. Nkrumah recognised neo-colonialism for what it was, though one may criticise his concept of "African socialism" (discussed on p 147).

The role of the army in Ghana is a unique feature discussed in detail. The working class components of the Ghanaian army supported the coup of Fl. Lt. J. Rawlings on Dec 31 1981. The many positive moves towards establishing socialism are documented (p 153 ff) including an anti-imperialist stance, setting up people's defence committees, workers' committees, the investigation of corruption, etc. Unfortunately, nothing has been done on the land question. Nevertheless the author (Aidoo) feels that an encouraging basis for socialism has been laid.

There are chapters on Zambia and Angola, the key features of which are familiar to our readers. The book ends with a chapter by Wallerstein and also one by Waterman, the latter on a concept of "semi-proletarianised peasantry" which neither he nor I find very useful. These two chapters don't contribtue a great deal to the book, which could have done just as well without them.

S.P.

INSPIRED BY THE TURN TO ARMED STRUGGLE

Death is Part of the Process, by Hilda Bernstein (Sinclair Browne Ltd. Price £7.95).

Exactly 22 years after the birth of Umkhonto we Sizwe a writer inspired by its struggle and achievements has added a unique novel to the arsenal of liberation literature in South Africa.

Hilda Bernstein's book comes at a time when the graph of armed struggle is in the ascendant, when the geo-political map of Southern Africa has greatly altered the balance of forces in favour of the oppressed. The novel is a moving account of events that changed the political landscape of South Africa in the 1960s, when a new dimension — armed struggle — was introduced.

The first reaction of this reviewer — not yet born at that time — was a mixture of expectation and curiosity as to what political form the novel would take, for there is a dialectical link between life and death and the search to understand the process of history as a whole. There is always a need, as the struggle is hurled forward, to page backwards, record the events and underline their significance for the future battles in this struggle where there is 'defeat within victory'.

The opening chapter relives the tensions, doubts and squabbles that always precede decisive situations in history. In particular, the advanced forces had to satisfy themselves that the situation was mature for a transformation of policy. The symbols of apartheid and not human life were the declared targets of the sabotage campaign which was launched on December 16, 1961, but was violence justified or necessary? "There is a change coming in the nature of the struggle. It's not simply that things are becoming more difficult, it's a radical change of direction." The debates were heated. "...there's this awful contradiction: fear of doing nothing; fear of involving innocent people... There are no innocent people." "Your refusal to take part in a decision is also a decision". Such were the debates that raged back and forth among the pioneers of Umkhonto we Sizwe.

The bizarre reality of apartheid barbarity is well documented: "...the little black children with rags and stick-limbs and hair turning strangely rust coloured, dying in the remote countryside". The Group Areas Act threatened Indian families. These and many other wounds in the consciousness of the oppressed suggested that something drastic had to be done to remedy the ills of oppression and exploitation. "How do you shake off an iron fist with passive resistance?"

Seasons were changing. "Unexpectedly, the rain started." This dramatic statement is written in the pages that describe that turbulent period of trial and error. Impatience pervades the souls of the revolutionaries whose wish is "freedom in our lifetime". The cloud of danger hovered persistently over them. The will to live added quality to their work. People of all races, from all walks of life, swelled their ranks. What was discussed behind closed doors under the curtain of darkness yielded results in a multitude of acts of sabotage throughout South Africa.

The choice between personal fortune and the will of the masses is made glaringly clear. MK was just crawling, a new-born baby of the revolution, yet it showed innovation, creativity and single-mindedness. The knowledge of chemistry was not given in laboratories but tested on the field of battle. Collective work was emphasised; discipline was the watchword. It is an exciting story, excitingly told. This reviewer would have liked to hear more about the way the decisions were taken by the high command, about the contribution of Mandela and other leaders. One is left in the dark as to the role of the leadership or even that of revolutionary theory in general. Nothing is said about the role and work of the Communist Party, although it was banned in 1950, 10 years before the ANC went underground.

It does seem odd that the author chose to relate meticulously the recurring anecdotes of drinking and womanising that were supposed to coexist with the work of revolution — especially in the danger-ridden life of those revolutionaries described in the book. There is nothing wrong with romance in a revolution; after all, revolutionaries are inspired by love for life. Yet theirs is a love guided by revolutionary morality, and exceptions to this rule are no excuse for dramatics. For instance the romance between Indris and Margi — whom the author describes using racial criteria (Indian and White) — is particularly damaging to the image of a serious revolutionary. The emancipation of women — irrespective of their racial origin — guides revolutionaries with responsible attitudes, and such attitudes ought to be predominant in characters like Indris, Sipho and Thabo.

The novel seems to suggest that racial consciousness could be alleviated if not destroyed by a casual act of sexual intercourse during the process of revolution. If this was not the intention of the author, this impression unfortunately could not escape me while reading the book. "They met by chance and would part by necessity". "Every relationship was poisoned by racism; whether you recognised it or not, it was there, because it was for a night, perhaps one more night, and that was all." The characters seem to play their roles and live up to their responsibilities within the limitations of their racial or intellectual specifications.

Skin pigmentation can either aggravate or lessen the danger faced by underground operatives; open or close the possibilities of their advance. Our revolution has learned to exploit this loophole. To continually insist, as the author does, on the 'us' and 'them' syndrome becomes counter-productive to the efforts towards non-racialism. "It's not power failure — it's sabotage — they did it, and I helped them!" The concept of 'they' and 'I' defeats the purpose of the comradeship which is otherwise present in all situations described in the book. It strikes me that the pioneers of sabotage were people who had risen above the narrow confines of racism. It is only revolutionary conviction that could have led to that dramatic shift of strategy in 1960.

The author shows how racism has disorganised the personalities of the security police and led them to their notorious methods of interrogation. "I understand the native mind. I understand the way a communist thinks. That's how I defeat them. I understand them." The psychology of this policeman is permeated by delusions of grandeur, ignorance and arrogance. His captive survives owing to his sense of obligation to his people, his nobler and higher convictions. "Someone pulled down his trousers, and electrodes were fastened to each testicle. The current passed through and through him in shivering waves of agony, one on top of the other, an excruciating torment split into a million separate needles." Thabo refuses to divulge any information. His moral courage escapes his tormentors, racism still blinds them. "They don't feel like human beings, these black bastards. Their skins are thicker, their skulls are thicker. They don't feel enough."

On the other hand the author's analysis of the courage of Pila,a progressive white intellectual arrested for her part in sabotage, is disturbing. "She had earned the badge of honour of Africa — jail for political reasons." This motivation runs contrary to the attitudes of a captured revolutionary. Such sentiments are usually expressed by liberals, be they black or white. This liberal tinge, naturally, does not fit into the author's own political background.

Sabotage was countered by brute force and terror, police infiltration and 90-day detention of revolutionaries without trial. This increasing repression gave rise to increased resistance. The author does not miss this dialectical process. The seeds of armed struggle planted in the 1960s were temporarily trampled upon, denied the sunshine and water needed for growth. Yet the roots remained deep in the soul and soil of the downtrodden majority. Now the fruits are ripening. Hilda Bernstein's gripping novel points the way to the future and informs us that the double-edged sword of mass action and armed struggle will inevitably lead to the victory of the South African revolution.

M.F.

THE CURSE OF MIGRANT LABOUR

Black Gold, The Mozambican Miner, Proletarian and Peasant

by Ruth First (Harvester Press, Sussex, 1983, £35)

Marx wrote in *Capital,* Vol 1 that "...all revolutions are epoch-making that act as levers for the capitalist class in the course of their formation... The expropriation of the agricultural producer, of the peasant from the soil, is the basis of the whole (historical) process." In her last study — twenty years after her first — on the export of Mozambican labour to the South African gold mines, Ruth First attacked the heart of capitalist accumulation. She confronted the legacy of four centuries of Portuguese colonialism and the invasion of monopoly capital into the Mozambican countryside.

The work was based on a research project, *The Mozambican Miner: a study in the export of labour,* undertaken during 1977 by the Centre of African Studies of the Eduardo Mondlane University, Mozambique. The project, directed by Ruth First and completed two years after independence, reflects her perspective on the role of academic research; her personal commitment to make intellectual work an instrument of revolutionary change. Her purpose was not simply to describe the impact of the migrant system but to explain it; to make an historical break with the migrant pattern, and the legacy of over four hundred years of colonialism. *Black Gold* accordingly draws upon the work of a committed research team to provide an analysis that aims to transform the Mozambican economy, restructure production — and labour's part in it.

The analysis concentrates on the consequences for the peasant economies of the repeated labour exodus from Mozambique. For after a hundred years of migrancy, the rural economies have developed a dependency on migrant labour in such a way that the system has become self-reproducing. The argument is now a familiar one but it is given flesh and further dimension by the range of the research, the organisation of the work and the framework in which it is located. The book is not without its faults: it attempts too much; there is a tension between description and analysis; prominence is given to worksongs and profiles of migrants but problems of space and methodology mute the scope of these and they lack integration in the treatment as a whole. But it is one of the merits of the book that its theoretical thrust is not submerged, as so often happens in contemporary social histories of Southern Africa, which introduce oral histories that pass off for "the African point of view". *Black Gold* is more successful than these because the emphasis is on the historical process of capital accumulation and the mechanisms by which capital encroaches upon the countryside, rather than the highly individual 'consciousness' which the actors may have of their social condition. The worksongs and peasant-profiles add insights to the history but never speak for the process themselves. In this way the theoretical integrity of the work is maintained, despite some fragmentation of the text.

Land And Labour

The general argument is clearly stated: migrants were initially partially separated from their means of production on the land, to sell their labour power for a cash wage on the mines. As access to productive land was restricted (to increase the flow of labour or reduce the cost of production), the partially-proletarianised peasants became increasingly dependent on the proceeds of wage labour, and their rural base became more tenuous. The analysis applies to South Africa as well as to Mozambique, Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland — all suppliers of migrant labour to South Africa — but it is with Mozambique that this work is primarily concerned.

Four hundred years of colonialism had stunted the economy and underdeveloped its resources. When the country was declared an independent People's Republic in 1975, after a decade of armed struggle, ninety percent of the population were in the rural areas and 5% of the land was under cultivation. Only 7% of the adults were literate in a population of twelve million, and just over half a million children were at school. Communications were primitive, except in the south, connecting the country to major labour markets in South Africa. The country's primary export was its human resource — its labour power — which provided 60% of the mine labour force at the turn of the century and remained the spine of its workforce for nearly eighty years.

The continuous stream of peasant labour to South Africa — over eighty thousand in the years before 1914, extending to more than 100,000 between 1945 and 1975 — left its imprint on independent Mozambique, distorted the economy and deprived the country of its skills. Peasant poverty was especially prominent in the southernmost provinces, where in 1967 the total mine wages paid to migrants was over eight times greater than the marketed production in these areas.

The migrant progress ruined the peasant economies. The poor were most affected but the middle peasants were bought to the margins of poverty too. This is discussed in the most innovative chapter of the book, dealing with the social differentiation of the countryside, illustrated by case studies of peasant householders. Whilst the middle peasants were able (after a period of mine work) to sustain a certain level of agriculture, the agrarian base of the poor peasantry fell below the margins of subsistence. Consequently they became locked into a cycle of contract labour from which they could not withdraw. One of the case studies for example, describes a young peasant family, Armando, his wife and young child. They farmed two strips of land but owned only a hoe and a catana (a large knife). Their diet of one meal a day consisted of cassava — and sometimes only the leaf of this plant — maize, porridge and pumpkin leaves — the latter from their neighbours. Appropriately they are described as "a poor and hungry family". Similar case studies of the poor who are either sick, old, retired or widowed, complete the harrowing picture of peasant underdevelopment.

Between Two Worlds

The paradox of the process, Ruth First notes, is that after a century of labour migration, the South African mining industry has been the cause of dissolving and sustaining various forms of peasant production. Peasants have thus become dependent for their necessities on mine wages. Money earned from mine labour not only acts as the means of peasant consumption but by its use for the purchase of ploughs, hoes and oxen paradoxically provides the *means* of rural reproduction. Mine wages therefore underwrote the peasant economy and this in turn produced successive generations of worker-peasants who are neither wholly separated from the soil nor independent rural producers.

There were few men interviewed by the research team who had never worked on a mine. Today recruitment is limited to those with the valid bonus certificates, entitling them to be re-engaged on the mines. The 're-engagement certificate' is a response to the political independence in Africa, the employers' need for a stable mine workforce in the face of technological change, and the presence of an alternative supply of South African labour. After eighty eight years of migrancy, during which the gold mines have drained Mozambique of its labour and the productivity of its land, the mine-owners have more than halved the employment of Mozambique miners. In 1975 — the peak year of employment — 118,000 Mozambicans went to the mines: in 1976, the figure was 44,100. For the mineowners, the migrants were merely so many units of labour. For independent Mozambique, their creative deployment in the revitalised agriculture stands at the centre of its revolution.

In *Black Gold,* Ruth First has defined the dilemmas for rural change, and together with the research team with whom she worked, armed the proletarian-peasants with strategies for a place in the sun. Her confidence that the outcome of the decolonising process would be an optimistic one is evident from one of the photographs she chose of children at a village school. The plate is captioned: *"The generation that will NOT be recruited for minework".* There is little doubt that her intellectual energy will in the final analysis have helped to free that generation from the disfiguring effects of the migrant labour system.

L.N.

THE COURSE OF REVOLUTION IN ANGOLA

Angola in the Frontline by Michael Wolfers and Jane Bergerol. (Zed Press London 1983. Price £5.95)

Since the end of the First World War humanity has witnessed an unprecedented pace of social and political change. This process, inaugurated by the Great October Socialist Revolution of 1917, has continued apace until the present. Despite the victories scored by the forces of social progress this century it is also equally true that the guardians of the old order of imperialism, colonialism, racism and capitalism have resisted change with all the force and energy they can muster. Every country and people who have had the courage to make revolution have been forced to pay a very high price for their courage. Without exception each successful revolutionary regime has been faced with the most venomous hostility from the imperialist powers. No sooner had the working class seized power in Russia than it was faced with brazen attempts at subversion and intervention by the capitalist powers of the world. This pattern continues to the present. Nicaragua's Sandinistas have been forced to divert valuable assets to purposes of defence because of the US-sponsored war of intervention waged by the custodians of Somozism; the tiny island of Grenada has been invaded by the US imperialists in an undisguised bid to restore the rule of the Mafia-sponsored Mongoose gangsters.

Since the coming into office of the Reagan Administration, interventionism and counter-revolutionary warfare have been raised to the first principle of US foreign policy; with the Marines and the "Rapid Deployment Force" as the chief officers of US diplomacy. Reagan has brought the images of Hollywood manicheanism, symbolised in the John Wayne tough guy movies, to Washington and appears to regard the rest of the world as one wild western cattle ranch in which the gang with the greatest fire power and the least regard for morality is dominant.

In Southern Africa the principal victim of this aggressive policy is the People's Republic of Angola. The undeclared war being waged against Angola by the racist Pretoria regime, supported and subvented by the US imperialists, has demonstrated to the African continent the indivisibility of the struggle for national liberation. This is a principle that has long been recognised by the liberation movements of Southern Africa, amongst whom firm bonds of solidarity have been forged over the past two decades of war. These bonds are almost daily being sealed in the blood of our peoples, who are maimed, injured and murdered in their hundreds as we face our common enemy, racism, supported by imperialism and acting in collusion with African reactionaries!

The book under review, *Angola in the Frontline*, was written by two British journalists, Michael Wolfers and Jane Bergerol, who are amongst the few English speakers who have been witnesses to this war. Michael Wolfers, a long standing activist in the anti-imperialist solidarity movement in Great Britain, went to Angola on the eve of independence and worked there for the Angola Information Services as a broadcaster for a number of years. An experienced reporter on African affairs he was able to report Angola's Second War of Liberation until January 1976. Jane Bergerol is the daughter of a senior British diplomat who arrived in Angola at about the same time as a reporter for the *Guardian* and the BBC. Her incisive and perceptive reporting earned her the ire of Fleet Street editors whose notion of 'Freedom of the Press' is only applicable to reports that conform to their preconceived anti-communist ideas.

The chief merit of this book, one of the first in English dealing with post-independence Angola, is the authors' attempt to explain the events of the past eight years not only in terms of imperialist and racist intervention but also in the context of Angolan history and society. Progressive writers all too often find it easier to explain away the weaknesses, errors and betrayals of African political leaders in terms of imperialist manipulation. Though no one suggests that we play down the role of imperialist agencies and interest groups, this can become a species of apologetics that is unwilling to take account of the multiplicity of sectional, class and power group interests that motivate anti-colonialist struggles.

Class and Nation

At the Second Congress of the Comintern in 1920, an interesting controversy, involving Lenin and the Indian Communist M.N. Roy, occupied the minds of the delegates. The point at issue was the differing interpretations of the anti-colonialist movement these two subscribed to. Lenin argued that in most colonial countries the Marxist left would for many years be too weak to exercise leadership over the national movement and would therefore have to accept the leadership of the nationalist petty bourgeoisie while steadily building up its strength until it was in a position to challenge the petty bourgeoisie for leadership of the movement. Roy, in contrast, argued that it was incorrect to regard the anti-colonialist movements as an undifferentiated bloc. There were in fact two movements in the colonies, one the bourgeois-led movement for democratic rights and control over the national economy, the other a proto-socialist movement of the workers and poor peasants to put an end to all exploitation.

Though these movements should cooperate, Roy asserted, the workers and poor peasants should be vigilant against the inevitable attempts of the bourgeoisie to exploit the commonly won victories for its own sectional ends. The task of the Marxist left was therefore to enhance the political independence of this potentially socialist movement from the bourgeois national leaders by infusing it with the principles of scientific socialism.

Both theses were tested in the course of the Angolan revolution. It is quite evident that there were Marxists among the founders of the MPLA, others became Marxists in the course of the armed liberation struggle, while a small minority never developed beyond the petty bourgeois nationalism which was the starting point of most members. Before it transformed itself into a Marxist-Leninist Party in 1977, the MPLA was a national liberation movement embracing a number of different classes amongst whom the working class had emerged as the dominant one. From its inception the Angolan anti-colonialist movement reflected the divergent class interests present in Angolan society. As Wolfers and Bergerol make clear, the FNLA and the MPLA represented two divergent streams in Angolan politics though both were inspired by opposition to Portuguese domination. UNITA came into being as a splinter group from the FNLA. Holden Roberto and Jonas Savimbi started out as the political representatives of a small petty bourgeois stratum of Angolans eager to get rid of the Portuguese settlers and colonial regime, not in order to free the Angolan people from exploitation and social deprivation, but so that this stratum could step into the shoes of the colonialists and assume the role of middleman between imperialist economic interests and the exploited Angolan people.

The aspirant new exploiters were, however, a very thin layer of professionally trained Blacks who needed the numerical strength of the workers and peasants to fight what were conceived as essentially battles in pursuance of the elite's interests. The glaring injustices of Portuguese fascist colonialism provided a rallying point for opposition. The elemental but justifiable anger of the mass of Angolans was harnessed by means of crude anti-Portuguese sloganising. When the would-be-exploiters fell out in 1965, the two warring leaders, Roberto and Savimbi, turned to Kikongo and Ovimbundu tribalism in order to hold on to the waning numbers of their supporters.

In contrast to these the MPLA from the begining made a commitment to the emancipation of the Angolan people. Though drawing its support from all classes, through an internal debate and its experience in the armed struggle the MPLA came to appreciate that only the working class of town and countryside and the poor peasants could lead the Angolan revolution to victory. Unlike FNLA and UNITA, the MPLA spoke to the whole nation; fought regionalism and tribalism within its ranks and amongst the people, emphasising the commonly shared national grievance of national oppression. Though most of the militants who joined MPLA came to it with the same sense of anger in their hearts, political training within the movement translated these emotions into a clearsighted revolutionary consciousness that embraced not only an understanding of Portuguese colonialism and the means to overthrow it, but also a social vision of what to replace it with.

Nationalism and Chauvinism

Throughout the long years of the war of liberation FNLA and UNITA, though they did little or no fighting, projected themselves as zealous, radical nationalists unlike the "Soviet-backed MPLA". At the end of the day it was however precisely these passionate nationalists who fought in the same trench as the South African White racists! The explanation for this apparent paradox is that because these movements represented sectional aims, the leadership, crystallised in Roberto and Savimbi, was incapable of taking its mass following beyond the gut feelings of national grievance and the politics of rage. To retain their support the FNLA and UNITA leaders employed every form of mystification and manipulation. Roberto latched on to the religious beliefs of the Kikongo and invoked the past glories of the Kikongo kingdom. Savimbi in his turn concocted an interesting hybrid containing strands of Christian fundamentalism, Ovimbundu tribalism and a radical sounding rhetoric borrowed from Maoism. These intellectually threadbare ideologies were supposed to provide inspiration for the rank and file fighters. The present and the future seemed unimportant. The MPLA alone had a coherent political programme, a strategy for its pursuance and had devised the tactics to draw in the mass of peasants and workers in its execution. FNLA and UNITA could neither formulate a programme, nor, having formulated one, take the masses into their confidence precisely because the real objectives of their leaders entailed the betrayal of the people's aspirations and expectations.

The true test came during the transition to independence, which was in reality a few months of uneasy superficial *coexistence. FNLA and UNITA* demonstrated their utter bankruptcy to the Angolan people during this period. The organs of popular power that sprang up in every town, village and hamlet of Angola one by one rejected Roberto and Savimbi.

The programme of the MPLA, which spoke to the economic, social and political concerns of the most exploited and oppressed, became the reality as urban workers, migrant plantation workers, forced labourers in the coffee fields and peasants in the countryside began taking a hand in the decisions that so intimately affected their lives. The big word "self-determination" acquired a real meaning when reduced to the simple realities of the neighbourhood committees, the popular power assemblies, factory and plantation committees. "Independence" was not merely the departure of the Portuguese colonial governor but also demanded the dismantling of all those institutional structures that rendered the Angolan people powerless and readily exploitable victims of imperialism.

The masses began to grasp this in the actual process of constructing the new revolutionary institutions that came with independence.

Resort To Terror

Having been rejected by the people FNLA and UNITA turned against the organs of people's power, employing terror in an attempt to intimidate the people into submission. The beatings, tortures and mayhem wreaked by their political thugs; the severed hands, vital human organs and parts found refrigerated in FNLA headquarters in Luanda; the ritual murders and mumbo-jumbo reminiscent of Duvalier and his Ton-ton Macoutes are typical of this bizarre symbiosis between the modern and archaic. These atrocities, crowned by sponsorship from the Pretoria racists, demonstrated beyond doubt where the real loyalties of FNLA and UNITA lay. Long before a single Cuban internationalist fighter had set foot in Angola the people of

Luanda had driven FNLA and UNITA out of the capital. Politically defeated and faced with imminent military collapse the so-called ultra-nationalists embraced Vorster as their saviour. The whole purpose of racist and imperialist intervention since 1975 is to reverse the political defeat suffered by their proteges and to impose these reactionary parties on the Angolan people.

The background to, and the unfolding of this undeclared war form the substance of Wolfers' and Bergerol's book. Written in simple and very readable language the book provides a clear explanation of what lies behind the US orchestrated hue and cry about the presence of Cuban troops in Angola. The racists and their imperialist allies hope to force the People's Republic of Angola into a position where it will have to buy peace by agreeing to abandon the liberation movements in Southern Africa to the tender mercies of Pretoria. The military backing Angola receives from socialist Cuba is the main impediment to these plans.

By training and inclination Wolfers and Bergerol are high speed modern journalists. As a result their book is rather short on analysis and in-depth investigation of the class forces at play in post-independence Angola. These are however minor weaknesses in an extremely well researched book which is well worth its price. This reviewer would readily recommend it to any student of African politics and it should assist in enhancing the growing movement of solidarity in support of Angola and the other frontline states amongst the English speaking countries. To quote the words of Cde O.R. Tambo, President of the ANC:

> "It is the challenging task of the ANC, Umkhonto we Sizwe and the masses of our people, by the intensity of the struggle within South Africa, to compel withdrawal of the fascist occupying army from the People's Republic of Angola, from Namibia and from its campaigns of murder, terrorism and destruction elsewhere in Southern Africa.

M. Nkomonde, Lusaka

A WELCOME REPRINT OF A GREAT CLASSIC

Class and Colour in South Africa 1850-1950 by Jack and Ray Simons (International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa, Price £5)

The publishers are to be congratulated for having brought out a new edition of this valuable study. Originally published by Penguins in the 1960s, it has long been out of print, but equally long been on the wanted list of scholars and students everywhere. Now it is freely available once more, and we can only urge our readers who have not yet made acquaintance with this book to get themselves a copy immediately. It contains a mass of information about the development of the national and class struggle during the century under review, based on painstaking research and analysis which throws a brilliant light on our present struggles.

WHY I LIKE COMMUNISTS AND THEIR IDEAS

By A Freedom Fighter

I was born in the late 50's on the outskirts of Pretoria, in the ghetto near Silverton, now called Eersterus. My life was not easy, but things became worse when the family moved to Mamelodi, a ghetto on the eastern side of Pretoria.

My father had left school after Standard 4 and my mother did not attend school at all. To earn money my parents went in different directions. My father went to Kimberley for work in the diamond mines and my mother travelled as far as Pietersburg selling old clothes. We children were left with our grandmother and at that time I was in Sub B.

We sometimes had to sleep outside because the rent was not paid due to lack of money and the house was locked. My grandmother was therefore also forced to look for work. She worked as a farm labourer in Capital Park, one of Pretoria's farms. On one occasion I also worked for two days in a coal market and got 20 cents! Immediately I rushed to the stores and bought a piece of meat, 3 candles and a box of matches. That night was good, because normally we had to be without light and eat only porridge and water.

Because my school fees were not paid I had to leave school for three years but was then able to start school again. Life, however, was getting worse and worse. My mother, father, brothers and sister started selling fruit and vegetables in order to survive.

I realised that education was important and I dedicated myself to study, passed Standard 6 and went to Secondary School. It was here that I first heard the word "communist". I tried to discover what this word meant and got many different explanations.

Apartheid was affecting me practically and I questioned people about God, apartheid and communism. I became interested in the science subjects at school and soon came to question the existence of God, wanting to know why he didn't remove apartheid. In fact I became a "problem" both at home and in the classroom. On one occasion I came across a book which dealt with the evolution of man and which had a photograph of Charles Darwin. Although I couldn't understand much about the theory of evolution, that book killed any religious beliefs. The ideas of evolution somehow connected me to the problems of apartheid and although I thought about how to remove apartheid I could not think of a solution. The word "communism" also came to the fore and one day my younger brother explained very simply what he thought communism is. He simply described it as being a society where everyone is equal and nobody suffers because of the colour of their skin. My elder brother agreed that this was the case. I couldn't believe that this happened anywhere.

It was at this time that Frelimo and MPLA were waging their wars of liberation in Mozambique and Angola. The South African press was equating Frelimo and MPLA with the communists and with the Russians.These press statements led me to love the Russians and the idea of removing apartheid through force and war became clear to me.

This was now 1975 and the following year, June 16, 1976, the students' uprising started. I participated in this and I had my first experience of police terror. I was forced to leave the country and found my way to the African National Congress. I started to read our history and through reading I came to understand the realities of communism. The organ of the South African Communist Party, *The African Communist,* clarified the working class struggle in South Africa.

Dialego's *Philosophy and Class Struggle* clarified more for me, especially explained the three laws of dialectical materialism — the law of unity and the struggle of opposites, the law of transformation from quantity into quality and the law of negation of the negation.

Because Dialego explained these laws with examples it became easy for me to understand Marxist-Leninist teaching. It also helped me to understand the *Communist Manifesto.*

The ANC sent me to Cuba to further my studies and there I saw socialism in practice and became informed about the next stage of communism.

The South African Communist Party has worked hard for us to understand the international class struggle for peace, freedom and happiness. I have a strong trust in our Communist Party. I have confidence in it and am proud of its strength, commitment and dedication.

Long live Communism!

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

THE ROLE OF EDUCATION IN THE STRUGGLE FOR NATIONAL LIBERATION

From Boy Moremi, Bulgaria

Dear Editor,

The education of the African people has been a poisonous sore since the arrival of the colonisers in South Africa. The minority government has successfully kept its domination over the indigenous people by means of inferior education and race segregation.

The entrenchment of separate and inferior education is consolidated in the Bantu Education Act, the Extension of University Education Act, the Coloured Persons Education Act and the Quota Bill at present before Parliament.

All these laws have the aim of making an African a permanent servant, accumulating a high percentage of surplus value by keeping wages low, and dividing the black and white workers.

The present education system in South Africa is an instrument for adjusting the psychology of the masses to suit the intentions of the racist capitalist state. It has a class character and serves the interests of those who own the means of production. South Africa's Bantu Education schools are producing the servants needed by Anglo-American, Mobil, Barclays, Phillips and other major industrial companies.

The majority of South Africa's intellectuals who gained their degrees at Fort Hare, Ngoye, Turfloop and Wentworth end up as servants of these big companies while others are absorbed by the Bantustan system. As Lenin said, those schools "are turning men of science into men who have to write and say whatever pleases the capitalist."

The South African regime uses education to keep people apart from one another, to give only portions of information, to breed suspicion, violence and racial hatred.

The South African Communist Party and the African National Congress and its allies have been fighting against this monstrous education system for more than 30 years and the establishment of the Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College in Tanzania has been a major stride forward in educating our young people as well as developing their political understanding and commitment. The ANC has freed education from evident malformation and set about establishing a real creative school.

As stated in the ANC education policy document of November,1982 "The ANC's education policy is geared towards producing a new type of South African dedicated to serve the interests and needs of the South African people as a whole."

This type of education is going to bring about a revolutionary change in the system of education and will ensure a highly qualified revolutionary who will combine skill with political consciousness, dedication and self-discipline.

The ANC should not confine itself to educating those in exile,but should also exert its influence inside the country by the effective use of our propaganda machinery.

Because the racist system of education has a class character,our task is to expose the role of the bourgeoisie and foster class consciousness amongst the workers. We must fight to unite both black and white workers. We must work to rid the black intellectuals of their middle class mentality. We must educate the illiterate proletariat and peasantry. We must destroy class culture and create a single unified education policy. There must be no place for the person who is prepared to be an obedient tool of the ruling class.

The ANC's education policy will also liberate the teacher and bring him back to the full role of his vocation — helping to produce people who will contribute to the struggle of human justice and social progress. Our teachers must pass on to the new generation all the achievements of the past and exclude its prejudices and ills. They must be educators, people who are helping to form the future, which means that they too must not be products only of the past and present. It is therefore necessary that for these new teachers to be developed they must be sent to progressive countries such as the Soviet Union and other socialist countries in order to adopt and study their methods of building the new man and woman of the future.

We must intensify our literacy classes for our cadres working inside and outside the country. It will be necessary for these classes to be conducted in the evenings after work.

The majority of us live in the old world dominated by the bourgeoisie and we must fight their evil influence. We must make sense of the world. The world is big and beautiful but it has no innate sense of its own. To impart sense, rationality and justice to our existence we must all study the theory of Marxism-Leninism and we must then pass this knowledge on to others.

Racism in South Africa represents the interests of the bourgeoisie who daily poison the consciousness of our people. The role of education in the struggle for national liberation is to fight against this dangerous propaganda with a Marxist outlook and build a new generation for a future progressive South Africa, free of exploitation of man by man.

§§§

Human beings are not cattle, sheep or pigs, and that is a lesson all oppressors throughout history have failed to learn. Despite the fate of Hitler, Mussolini and Batista, the Nationalist government thinks that tyranny will succeed here because it is practised by Afrikaners, a super-breed. They too will learn that man is man, and will resist all efforts to trample him and his spirit under the jackboot of tyranny. No amount of brutality has prevented the spirit of liberty from expressing itself.

Govan Mbeki, 1961

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